

The World Tomorrow

MARCH, 1932

Mahatma Gandhi and War

Bartholomew De Ligt

Kentucky
Mining
Camp
Diary
by
Jennie Lee

Money,
Credit,
and
Depression
by
Paul H. Douglas



Outlaw Japanese Militarists!

Grover Clark

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TWO DOLLARS A YEAR

The World Tomorrow

VOL. XV

MARCH, 1932

No. 3

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MACFARLAND & HEATON, ADVERTISING REPRESENTATIVE

Published the first day of each month at 52 Vanderbilt Avenue,
New York, by THE WORLD TOMORROW, INC.

THE WORLD TOMORROW is on file in most public and college libraries and is indexed in the Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature.

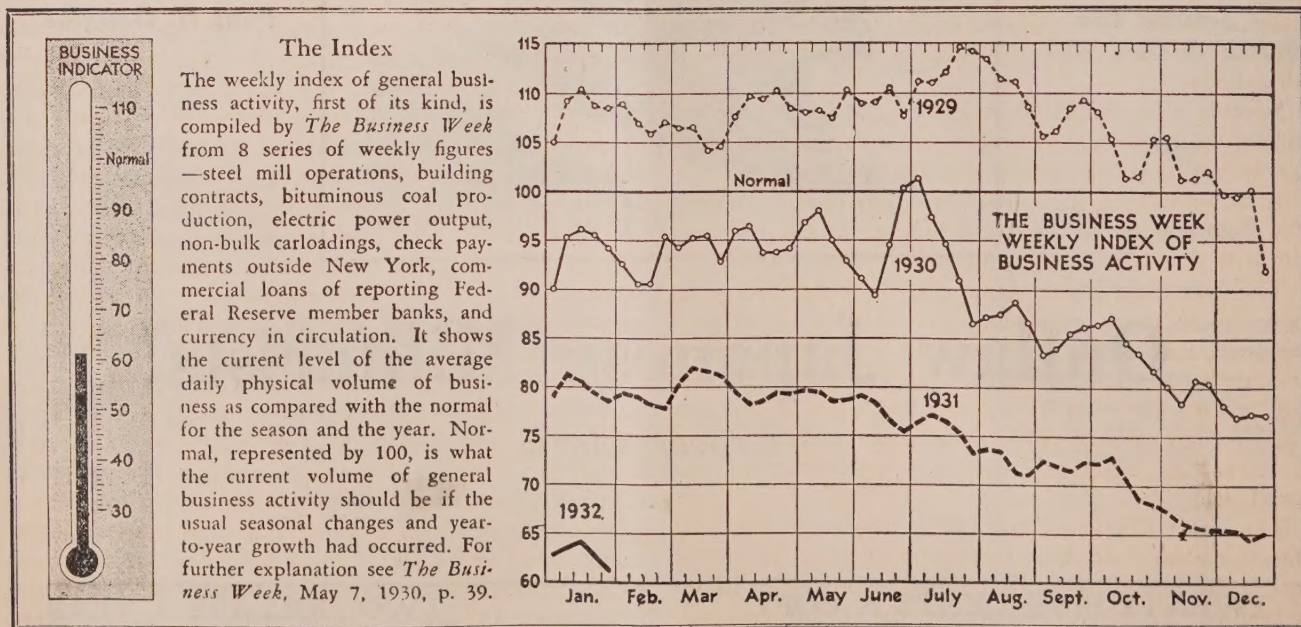
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SUBSCRIPTION RATES: Single Copies, 25 cents; \$2 per year; Canada, \$2.25; foreign, \$2.50. Orders for copies, subscriptions and all correspondence should be sent to THE WORLD TOMORROW, 52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York City. British representative, Edgar Dunstan, 11 Lincoln's Inn Fields, London. Annual Subscription, 10s. post free. Entered as Second Class Matter, Sept. 30, 1926, at the Post Office of New York, under the act of March 3, 1879.

Revealing the Extent of the Economic Debacle



—The Business Week, February 10, 1932

The World Tomorrow

A Journal Looking Toward a Social Order Based on the Religion of Jesus

Vol. XV

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Editorials

In the Day's News

The appointment of Judge Cardozo to the Supreme Court Bench represents Hoover's most commendable action. The pressure of public opinion is not altogether unavailing.

President Hindenburg's decision to run for the presidency of Germany may save the country from civil war. On the other hand, the election contest which the Nationalists and Fascists promise may destroy him as the symbol of German unity. Symbols of unity become unavailing when unity itself has been completely destroyed.

The situation in Harlan, Kentucky, is going from bad to worse. The recent violence perpetrated upon a committee of writers who sought to investigate conditions there shows how far a community can go when it has become mad with bloodlust. Unfortunately, one cannot incarcerate a mad community as one can an individual. Harlan, Kentucky, is the boil which shows the impure blood of greed and class hatred which infects our civilization.

The Communists are conducting a series of riots in the Bronx to call attention to the plight of unemployed who are evicted from their homes. Too bad that we leave it to the Communists to dramatize the crying injustice of our failure to deal with unemployment adequately.

Senator Fess thinks no community would let any of its citizens starve. That is typical of the kind of intelligence which small town politicians apply to the problems of an industrial civilization. The answer to Senator Fess is given in the facts. People are starving in the cities or committing suicide to avoid starvation.

The Japanese aggression grows more menacing daily. The most surprising fact about it, from our perspective, is the failure of the American Department of State to foresee the extent which it would assume. But had we foreseen it, it would not have helped the situation any as long as the great powers are unwilling to make an effective move against Japanese imperialism.

The great Finance Corporation headed by General Dawes means that the government is going to try to hasten the return of prosperity by betting upon its inevitability. If the guess is wrong, the corporation will

be in the same predicament as the grain board. It will be holding millions in securities worth less than half of what they were accepted for. Our confusion, in that case, will be worse confounded.

The administration still believes that it violates American principles to help the unemployed but that help for the bankers represents the acme of statesmanship.

A Four Year Plan

Whether the wretched economic conditions under which the country labors will produce a political revolt of real proportions is still an open question. The League for Independent Political Action, which has been doing valiant work to arouse the country from its lethargy and to lay the foundations for a new political alignment, is trying to further the cause of political revolt by presenting a "Four Year Presidential Program" which outlines the issues upon which a new political party, if it comes into existence, ought to wage its battle.

The document is a very interesting contribution. It is the product of the coöperative labors of four-score economists and men of affairs and it deals rigorously with the vital economic and political issues of the day. But it also reveals rather clearly the inevitable limitations of a political creed which does not grow out of a living political movement but which is the fruit of the labors of liberal middle-class economists. There is a certain lack of cohesion and inconsistency in the document which betrays the meeting of many minds which did not quite meet. Some of the sections are more radical than others. Perhaps the strongest section is that which demands public ownership of utilities and expresses the conviction that regulation is inadequate because the utilities are able to corrupt the organs of regulation.

One wonders why this kind of logic was not carried over into other sections of the program, for it would apply with equal force to all the problems of our economic life. Many of the demands made in the other divisions are unrealistic except upon the basis of a greater degree of social ownership than the total document avows or implies. Thus, for instance, in the section on taxation the demand is made for 75 per cent inheritance and income taxes in the highest brackets.

The experience of England proves rather conclusively that taxation will carry a society a part of the way toward the goal of socialized industry but it will never carry it all the way. It is probably easier to abolish private property entirely than to secure a taxation program which takes 75 per cent of the income yielded by the wealth of the most powerful classes. Without a complete reorientation of political forces and without a radical labor movement in control of the government, the powerful classes would always be able to prevent a taxation program of such rigorous proportions.

The creed of the League deals rather vigorously with all of the specific problems which confront our society. So thoroughgoing are some of the suggestions for reform that the total program becomes very unrealistic when the possibility of its fulfillment is considered in the light of the general presuppositions of the League. The League expects to organize a political revolt in which workers and farmers will form the spearhead but in which the middle classes will be generously enlisted. Yet its political presuppositions are not of the kind which would appeal to workers who were really in earnest about radical social change. Its principles are pretty generally those of the consuming public, of a liberalism, touched with radicalism, which expects to rectify specific abuses by the use of the available political machinery. Actually what the League asks for in specific terms could never be realized without a much more general reorganization of society than its philosophy implies or without a much greater emphasis on social ownership than it cares to make.

In spite of the general excellence of most of its proposals there are some glaring weaknesses. The agricultural program is the most inadequate section of its statement. It is very weak and makes no provision for any radical redistribution of ownership upon the basis of function. In a generally excellent section on social insurance nothing is said about who is to pay for the compulsory unemployment insurance and the old age and mothers' pensions which are demanded.

The total picture which emerges from the various demands of the League is that of a capitalistic society which permits the economic process to pile up inequalities and which then uses political force to recapture some of the centralized wealth and to level down some of the inequalities. Perhaps our society will go through a development such as the various industrial nations of Europe have experienced. Certainly the program of the League is so far in advance of anything offered by the old political parties that one could wish for its adoption by a powerful new party. But only a party which demands much more than is demanded here and which is organized upon the basis of a much more thoroughgoing social philosophy will be able to attain what the League demands within the next decades of our political history.

Democratic Aspirants

Never has the bankruptcy of our American political life been more fully revealed than in the attitude of the various Democratic presidential aspirants. Even the most uncorrupted optimist would not expect proposals from them which would offer really striking alternatives to Republican reaction. But one might imagine that political expediency itself would prompt them to make some proposals which would have at least the semblance of variance from Republican doctrine. But not so. Mr. Newton Baker scuttles the League of Nations issue so that he may be found worthy. Mr. Roosevelt is trying to be dry in dry states and wet in wet states and he is also opposed to the cancellation of debts. He hopes to ride into the presidency on the power issue and on a mildly liberal social insurance program. Mr. Al Smith, whose recent pronouncement proves that presidential ambitions never die, believes in a bond issue for public works, and that proposal exhausts his contribution to the problem of the depression. Mr. Ritchie's proposals, all looking backward to an idealized Jeffersonian day, are too unspeakable in their ineptness to deserve mention. These four gentlemen are the leading candidates for the Democratic nomination. Much as we loathe the prospect of another four years of Hoover, we prefer it to the hypocritical paeans on the triumph of liberalism which would be sung if any of these four men gained election. If we must have reaction let us have it without the thin varnish of liberalism which the Democratic party tries to paint on it—a varnish thin enough so that a deft fingernail can scratch it off when the party asks Wall Street to fill its coffers for the campaign. There is not much we can do about it. We still have a rather desperate hope that only a few intellectuals and liberals will find it possible to commend to the electorate the "liberal" Democratic alternative. But our hope is very, very desperate.

The League and Japan

While we have ourselves maintained that the failure of America to enter the League was partly responsible for the weakness of that institution in the face of the difficulties which confront the world, we are rather inclined at the present moment not to press that opinion too strenuously. For we are confronted by a situation in which American foreign policy is more than inclined to support any definite step which the League might take to halt the aggression of Japan, only to find the League unable or unwilling to do anything but utter pious wishes. It is now quite apparent that nothing will stop Japan but concerted action on the part of the powers of the world. Whether a diplomatic boycott would be sufficient or whether the nations would have to resort to the weapon of an economic boycott may be a question. But there is no ques-

tion that America single-handed cannot and ought not to attempt to stop Japan. There are too many dangers of war in such a procedure. It is equally apparent that the nations of Europe, particularly France and England, are not willing to make common cause with us. France seems definitely to be playing Japan's game, having in mind her interests in Indo-China, and England is afraid of betting on the wrong horse. The failure of England to give definite assurances has about the same effect as her similar failure in 1914 to predict her action in the event of the invasion of Belgium.

What we face, in other words, is a world in which national interests are still more powerful than the rather pressing problem of saving our whole civilization. The international mind is still veneer and the international community exists in only a very inchoate form. The failure of the League in regard to Japan gives added justification to the pessimists who predict that modern civilization cannot avert another catastrophe. These pessimists may be wrong. If Europe is able to solve the pressing reparations problem there is still some possibility that it will save itself from the abyss, at least for the coming year. In that event enough time may be gained to give a new opportunity for whatever redemptive forces exist in modern civilization. But the prospect is gloomy and almost drives one to the melancholy conclusion that the will to peace which seemed to follow the World War proceeded from nausea rather than honest repentance. Perhaps our present organization of society, leading as it inevitably does to nationalistic imperialism, is simply incapable of surviving in a technological civilization which demands a degree of mutuality which the nations are unable to attain. Whatever may be the outcome, it is obvious that optimism in the face of such a situation has become a vice. If we are to avoid catastrophe at all it will be only because we recognize its imminence.

Reparations and German Politics

However dark the world outlook may be as a whole, there is a slight glimmer of light in the reparations situation. The agreement between France and England to hold an economic conference in June and to discuss more than reparations does not mean that these two nations see eye to eye on reparations, but it does hold out hope for some better agreement than is possible now. The June conference will, of course, not find France any less willing to give up her position that the Young plan must be upheld, and the indications are that the power she holds over other nations by virtue of her gold hoards will not be lessened. One cannot be sure, therefore, of anything coming out of the June conference which would give Germany enough help to save her from revolution. But meanwhile the door is not entirely closed.

In Germany it is growing increasingly obvious that the Hitlerites are ceasing to be revolutionary in the ordinary sense. They will trust their fortunes to the May elections. Should they fail to gain strength, the Bruening government will maintain its present dictatorship. If they gain in strength, it is now quite possible that an agreement will be reached between the Nazis and the present government parties. Such a combination would destroy the revolutionary ardor of the Right and would be able to frustrate the revolutionary purposes of the Communist Left. In other words, revolution and chaos may be permanently avoided unless, of course, increasing poverty forces the Socialist workers to make common cause with the Communists or converts the Socialists to communism. If no decent reparations settlement is possible because of French and American opposition, the latter eventuality must remain a possibility for some years to come.

Free the Philippines Now!

Realistic supporters of the peace movement should throw the full weight of their influence behind the efforts now being made in Congress to grant independence to the Filipinos. First, because the people of the Islands passionately desire freedom; second, in order to fulfill repeated promises made to the Filipinos by our Government and official spokesmen; and, third, because of the imperative necessity of disentangling the United States from the world system of imperialism.

THE WORLD TOMORROW has long advocated a policy which includes the following points: set a definite date, not more than ten years distant, when final independence of the Philippines will be granted; immediately extend complete autonomy to the Filipinos; maintain free trade with the Islands for at least another decade; continue American coöperation in the realms of sanitation, education and religion, to the extent that such aid is desired by the Filipinos; and establish by treaty the international status of the Philippines.

Failure by the United States to adopt such a policy has substantially influenced the imperialistic policy of Japan. As long as the other great powers maintain the practice of armed intervention in seeking to protect their national interests, and continue to rule by force alien peoples against the desires of the latter, Japan will quote such precedents as a justification of her own aggression in Manchuria and China. Not until the United States disentangles herself from the system of imperialistic coercion will she be in an effective position to oppose armed aggression by other powers.

Nothing is more certain than that the hundreds of millions of subject peoples of the Orient will soon throw off the yoke of foreign powers. The only doubtful aspect concerns the method by which freedom will be obtained. If a terrible armed conflict between East and West is to be averted, the Occidental nations must

quicken the pace of transferring authority and granting freedom to the peoples of India, China, the Philippines, and other lands now held in subjugation.

That such a policy involves heavy risks is obvious. Peoples have often been temporarily worse off after they secured freedom than when they were under foreign domination. The dilemma confronting the great powers has been vividly presented by Nathaniel Peffer in his illustration of a man riding a tiger. It is dangerous to stay on and perilous to get off. The evidence seems clear that the imperialistic nations had better dismount, rather than be carried into the jungle of further warfare and resultant chaos.

Our Attitude Toward the Crisis in India

It appears that the position of THE WORLD TOMORROW with regard to India's struggle for freedom is being misinterpreted in opposite quarters. Some friends have expressed grief or indignation because we are supposed to be anti-British, while others bemoan our lack of a more robust faith in non-violent non-coöperation. Since it is possible that the publication in this issue of a sympathetically-critical statement concerning Mr. Gandhi's attitude toward war will increase the perplexity of some of our readers, it may be advisable briefly to summarize our position.

In our opinion the British administration in India has been productive of a vast amount of good for the people of that land. When all factors are taken into account, the British record in India is probably unequalled in the entire history of colonial government. It is possible that for decades to come Indians will be unable to govern themselves as efficiently as they have been governed by the British. THE WORLD TOMORROW holds the strong conviction that for the welfare of all parties concerned, it is preferable that India should be a self-governing dominion within the British Commonwealth rather than to be separated absolutely from Great Britain. Unity between the Orient and Occident is sorely needed, and a free and contented India within the British Commonwealth could serve as a bridge between East and West. For this reason we believe that India should now be granted autonomy and elevated to a status of equality with the other dominions. We are convinced that the risks of such a procedure are less than the menace of goading India into separation by violent or non-violent means.

We are in complete sympathy with India's desire for freedom. And if the point be made that only a small percentage of the Indian people has manifested an articulate demand for liberty, we reply that the great reforms and revolutions of history have always been achieved by minorities. The intellectual leadership of India is solidly united in opposing the continuance of British rule, and the demand for separation is rapidly increasing. The day has passed forever when England can govern India efficiently and peaceably.

The evidence seems conclusive that Great Britain will not relinquish control of India for an indefinite period unless effective coercion is exercised by the Indians. While British statesmen have often talked of dominion status for India, they have rarely envisaged it as an imminent reality, but usually as a goal to be reached by successive steps throughout a generation. That the Indians will wait decades before achieving a status of absolute equality seems to us to be a tragic illusion.

THE WORLD TOMORROW regards Mahatma Gandhi's method of non-violent non-coöperation as the most effective and ethical form of political coercion available to the Indian people. If the Indians on a mass scale will follow this method, it will prove to be irresistible. Courage and suffering exhibited in a non-violent campaign will yield more constructive and permanent results than would be true of the sacrifices involved in a revolutionary war. If Mr. Gandhi triumphs over the armed might of the British Empire and wins freedom without violent hostilities, his achievement will possess universal significance. Western civilization desperately needs to discover an alternative for war in the form of an effective non-violent means of social coercion.

If the movement of non-coöperation should be crushed by British steel, then India will probably turn to hatred and revolutionary violence and will accept nothing less than final separation from Great Britain. Nationalism in India is already at the boiling point and will explode unless release can be found through non-violent channels. The quicker self-government is attained, the more rapidly will India pass through the deep valleys of discord which seem to be ahead. If Indian nationalists are provoked into violent revolt, the road to tranquillity and prosperity will become more and more impassable.

We regard Mr. Gandhi not only as the noblest personality now in public life in any country on earth, but also consider him to be an extraordinarily sagacious statesman. He reveals the possibilities of idealism in politics. His unparalleled political influence rests upon the saintliness of his character. His religious faith in the invincibility of soul force and non-violence furnishes the vision and the dynamic which constitute the most serious of all threats to British domination in India.

This does not mean, however, that we regard him as perfect and beyond criticism. Mr. Gandhi himself is most emphatic at this point. His autobiography emphasized the mistakes he has made and points accurately at flaws in his character. Elsewhere in this issue, Mr. Gandhi's inconsistencies with regard to war are emphasized. One of our most trusted counselors seriously objected to our publishing this article while the Mahatma is incarcerated behind steel bars at Yerovda. THE WORLD TOMORROW believes, however,

that Mr. Gandhi would be the first to insist upon the value of seeking the utmost illumination at this tragic hour of crisis. And so we are presenting Mr. De Witt's conclusions in the hope that our readers will be stimulated to clearer thought and more intelligent action.

What About International Police?

The best thing about the French proposal for an armed police force to be placed at the disposal of the League of Nations is that it has no chance whatever of being adopted. This idea is not a new discovery of French statesmen. It constituted the corner-stone of their policy at Versailles, and since that time the French government has consistently sought to put teeth into the Covenant. Partly as a result of French efforts, armed sanctions, as a last resort, were incorporated into the Covenant. If in a given crisis the Council is able to reach unanimity of opinion, it is authorized to *request* the member nations to support its decisions with moral, diplomatic, economic and military force. Subsequent events, however, have revealed unmistakably that the respective nations have retained the right to decide for themselves the nature and extent of the support to be accorded to the League. The notion that the League is a superstate with power to order American boys to render military service in distant corners of the earth never attained a higher status than myth or falsehood—various and sundry members of the United States Senate to the contrary notwithstanding.

Mr. Charles Evans Hughes once put the case against international armed police convincingly by pointing out that such force can only be used under circumstances where it is not needed, and in cases when it appears to be required, it cannot safely or effectively be used. That is to say, where a weak country is concerned the League has other effective sanctions, while in the case of a great power, the use of armed force might easily precipitate war.

An equally valid argument against an international police force is found in the contention that armed sanctions are entirely unnecessary. Local government does require policemen to enforce laws and protect society from criminal individuals and mobs—although there is no ethical justification for capital punishment. Organized communities, such as municipalities and states, may be coerced without violence. States do not compel cities to observe their agreements by resort to armed force, nor does the Federal Government or the Supreme Court of the United States rely upon armaments to secure observance of national laws by the respective states. Likewise, it would be fatal for the League of Nations to attempt armed coercion of a great power. Moreover, effective non-military sanctions are available for use in any crisis.

If, in the early stages of the Manchurian crisis, the

League had registered a vigorous moral judgment in a legal form against Japan, such prompt action might have stopped the Japanese militarists then and there. If not, then, the League without delay should have warned Japan of an impending diplomatic boycott. If the warning failed to achieve the desired result, all diplomatic dealings with Japan should have been abandoned until she indicated a willingness to observe international obligations. If this combination proved to be ineffective, an embargo against raw silk and certain other Japanese commodities of export, supplemented by an embargo against cotton and other shipments to Japan, would have compelled Japan to yield.

The reason why these sanctions have not been used is not due to their lack of effectiveness, but for a variety of other reasons, including the embarrassment of certain powers because they themselves have set the example for Japan by taking similar action many times in the past, and their reluctance to say that they will agree never again to intervene with armed force in other lands, and the further fact that at least one great power appears to be willing to support Japan in return for Japanese assistance in other areas.

In upholding the adequacy of non-military sanctions, it is not necessary to take the position that moral, political and economic pressure will always prove to be one hundred per cent effective. It is easy to point out that municipalities have not always abided by all state laws and that certain decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States have been flouted by the states.

Concerning every proposed sanction we should inquire: Is it effective? Is it ethical? THE WORLD TOMORROW is convinced that an international armed police force would be neither effective nor ethical—nor necessary.

Hanging by a Thread of Silk

To an almost incredible degree, Japan's economic progress hangs by a thread of spun silk. For years, upwards of forty per cent in value of all her exports has been silk yarn, and of this more than ninety per cent has gone to the United States alone. About one-half of all her farm families depend for a substantial part of their money income upon the growing of silk; and in normal times from twenty to twenty-five per cent of all her factory workers are employed in silk filatures. To a perilous extent the capital economy of Japan depends upon the prosperity of America alone, and the ability of the American market to buy her raw silk. The effects of our business crash in 1929 spread through all Japan with the devastating force of a major earthquake. Within a few months the price of silk had broken in half, bales of silk yarn choked the warehouses of Yokohama, the government was forced to a policy of drastic retrenchment, and unrest rose to almost riot intensity over wide areas of agricultural Japan.—Robert W. Bruere, *Harpers Monthly Magazine*, February, 1932.

Outlaw Japanese Militarists!

GROVER CLARK

FOR four centuries the peoples of the West have been pushing their way into the East. Their actions during most of that time were such as to teach and drive home the lesson that in the end force alone is the arbiter between nations. The lesson was not new. The Far Eastern peoples themselves have been the users and victims of force on a vast scale in their dealings with each other. Had the Western nations been content simply to sweep over the East as conquerors, the Eastern peoples would have submitted and in due course have absorbed their new masters as they had submitted to and absorbed new masters before.

The West still is able to dominate the East by force of arms, if it so desires. It will not be able to do so forever. Japan already has proved herself an apt student of the Western teaching of force. That very aptness has given her her present high place among the nations—a lesson which the other Eastern nations have not failed to take to heart. China in due course will work through her present confusion and emerge as a united and orderly nation. India will follow in China's footsteps. What China does, however, is of crucial importance, for China is more sure to dominate the Far East in the decades ahead than the United States now is to continue to dominate the Western Hemisphere.

If, in this present crisis, the peoples of the East become convinced that between nations as between individuals the day has passed when guns were the only assurance of justice and fair treatment, they will come into world affairs as a powerful force for the upbuilding of a splendid new world civilization. If they are convinced, by what the Western nations fail to do now, that internationally the world still is merely barbaric and that force is the final arbiter, they will arm and, armed, will seek to do to the West what the armed West has done to them. The inevitable end of that road will be war between the East and the West in which all civilization will disappear in a welter of blood.

I say this in full realization of the gravity of the statement. I say it with the deepest possible conviction. The Chinese and the other peoples of the Far East have been moving for decades toward the parting of the ways—the way toward peace and the way toward war. It has been obvious for years that some crisis was likely to arise which would turn them definitely in one direction or the other, and that the outcome of that crisis, the direction which they would take, would depend primarily on whether the Western nations had themselves advanced to the point where they would in actuality wage peace instead of war. That crisis is here.

For years the tension has been growing in Manchuria between the Japanese and the Chinese. Japan had legitimate grievances. There is no doubt of that. She had been negotiating with China for some time, trying to secure a settlement of certain specific points of dispute. These negotiations had not moved toward a settlement satisfactory to Japan. In various ways the Chinese had been deliberately seeking to undermine Japanese treaty rights and economic interests in Manchuria. In these circumstances, Japan should have drawn up a statement of her grievances and of the reasons why she considered the situation grave. She should have presented that statement either to the League of Nations or to the signatories of the Nine Power Treaty, among which is the United States. In that treaty, in fact, she specifically pledged herself to consult with the other signatories if a situation arose likely to lead to a disturbance of friendly relations. Such a situation had arisen.

HAD Japan taken this course, she would have been in the right. She would have opened the way to an impartial consideration of the whole situation in Manchuria, leading, very possibly, to readjustments which would have been to her own very real advantage. She would have placed herself in the very front rank of the upholders of peace. She would have had world opinion on her side and would have been able to secure from China without expense and without loss of a single life, the very uttermost of every possible legitimate demand. Japan has said that all she desires is her legitimate rights. She took the wrong way to get them.

Instead of aiding their country by taking the way of peace, Japan's military leaders, by using force suddenly and without previously giving the Japanese government an opportunity to lay its case before the world, put Japan in the wrong, set up the strongest sort of presumption against her and created a situation which compels the other nations, if they wish to maintain any respect for their pledged word as well as any self-respect, to insist that Japan cancel all her military move before they will even listen to her complaints. Japan might have come into the court of world opinion with a good case. Her military chose to bring her in with a gun in her hand. Whatever the merits of her case may be, the other nations necessarily now must insist that she leave the court as long as she carries that gun.

Why did Japan's military do this? I say "Japan's military" advisedly because the responsibility for the original move in Manchuria rests squarely on the military faction in Japan, not on the people of the country.

nor on the civilian leaders in the government, however much these latter may share in the responsibility for the subsequent Japanese military expansion. On the basis of considerable knowledge of the situation in Japan as well as in Manchuria, and of the attitude of both the Japanese military leaders and the Japanese civilian officials in Japan and Manchuria, I am convinced that the chief motive of the military was to regain power in Japan itself.

Formerly they dominated the country. In recent years their power has been decreasing. On several occasions they have tried to create a situation in China which would lead to a wave of nationalistic feeling in Japan, so that they might ride back into power on the crest of that wave. They tried to do this without success in 1927 and 1928, in their moves in Shantung. They began, in 1931, to stir up feeling in Japan at the end of June. They moved in Manchuria in September suddenly and, as the evidence clearly shows, after careful preparation. They hoped to arouse so much feeling in Japan that the civilian authorities would be helpless. They succeeded. They have secured complete control.

THE League of Nations and the United States did not, at the very start, speak out emphatically and in unqualified terms demanding that the Japanese troops get back to the areas where they had a treaty right to be, since their presence outside those areas was a clear violation of Japan's pledges to the other nations. Had the League and the United States promptly and emphatically insisted that Japan keep her international pledges, accompanying that insistence with an assurance that the nations would be ready to listen to Japan's case after she had kept her pledges—had this been done, I am convinced that popular feeling in Japan would have turned sharply against the militarists and that the Japanese troops would have been withdrawn at once. The League and the United States hesitated to speak openly and emphatically lest the Japanese people become offended and turn more than ever to the militarists. The actual effect of this mildness, however, was to give the militarists the chance to say that the actions of the Western nations proved that they either were indifferent or that they approved what the military had done.

Today the military are in complete control in Japan and Japanese troops dominate Manchuria. I do not believe that this situation can continue indefinitely, no matter what the Western nations do or fail to do, for the simple reason that Japan cannot long continue to carry the very heavy expenses which the military moves involve, nor long withstand the breakdown of her industry which is resulting from the Chinese boycott. In the end, Japan will get no more out of this military occupation of Manchuria than she did out of the Siberian expedition of 1918 to 1920, or out of the military move in Shantung in 1928—which is precisely nothing

except very heavy expenses and renewed anti-Japanese bitterness in China.

From this point of view, the Western nations need not concern themselves with what is happening. In due course, the Chinese will be able to deal effectively with Japan—though it may be at the terrific cost of the complete collapse of Japan's economic and social structure and the definite swing of China and perhaps Japan into alliance with Russia against the rest of the world. For the Western nations, the question of whether China's territorial and administrative integrity is preserved or invaded in one sense is comparatively unimportant. Much more urgent is the question of whether the Western nations' pledges to each other and to the nations of the East are to be kept, whether the validity of international agreements is to be effectively maintained, whether an intransigent military group in any country can flout the most solemn international treaties without effective rebuke from the nations. On the way that question is answered, rather than on whether Japan remains in Manchuria for three months or three years or thirty years, depends the answer to the question whether the peoples of the East will come into world affairs as friends or as enemies, whether civilization will move forward or be swept away in a tidal wave of blood.

THE United States has definite rights and obligations in and in relation to China, which are embodied in the texts of treaties. Secretary Stimson summarized these in his note of January 7. But the United States also has the more fundamental right to insist that others shall keep pledges which they have joined with the United States in making. It has the basic obligation to make sure that those pledges are kept. That obligation, in this crisis in the Far East, rests peculiarly on the United States because American actions in the past have placed this country in the position of trustee of the Far Eastern people's faith in international justice and fair dealing apart from force.

What, then, can we do? The answer, I think, is comparatively simple because the problem is simple. The problem is once and for all to break the power of the military party in Japan—that sabre-rattling group which sat at the feet of Bismarck, continued as apt pupils of Prussian junkerism, and will remain the most serious menace to peace in the Far East and one of the grave menaces to world peace as long as it retains a shred of power. Under the Japanese constitution, the Japanese military, like the German military before the World War is responsible directly to the Emperor and not to the civilian government. Japan's military leaders played the predominant role in raising Japan from a minor island kingdom to her present high place among the nations. The military clique's real power in Japan springs from the pride which the Japanese people have

taken in what it has done for Japan. When that pride is turned to shame, that power will disappear. The Japanese people, who are not themselves militaristic, will become ashamed rather than proud of their military the moment they become convinced that the military has disgraced the country. The solution of the problem which this crisis presents, therefore, is effectively to show the Japanese people that their military have dishonored Japan.

The Japanese people are sensitive to world opinion to a degree which it is difficult for Americans to understand. Therein lies both the danger and the opportunity in the present situation. So far, the military have been able to convince the Japanese that the nation's honor in the eyes of the world has not been besmirched by what the troops have done; that, in fact, the military moves have won new glory for Japan. They have been able to do this in no small part because the other nations, including the United States, have not spoken their minds with sufficient open emphasis.

Secretary Stimson's note of January 7 was a long step in the right direction. The fact that that note promptly was made public is fully as important as the contents of the note itself. It is very unfortunate that, for reasons which are only partly clear, the European nations did not act with or follow the lead of the United States. The fact that they did not has already strengthened the military party's position in Japan.

AMERICAN action need not, at this stage, involve the use of force, nor even of an economic boycott. It need only be such as to make it inescapably clear that if Japan continue to act as an international outlaw she will be treated as such. More specifically, the American government, it seems to me, should at once inform Japan, in courteous but unmistakably clear language, that the United States will be forced to regard continued use of Japanese force to impose Japan's will in the Shanghai area as a definite and deliberate violation of Japan's obligations under the Nine Power Treaty and her pledges in the Pact of Paris. The American note then should say that if Japan by such use of force should continue to violate these obligations and this pledge, there will be no alternative but to conclude that she does not intend to respect the commitments which she has solemnly made with and to the United States. In such circumstances, the note should state, the United States will find it necessary to withdraw its ambassador from Japan since the American government, out of consideration for the dignity of the United States, could not continue to deal on a basis of mutual confidence and good faith with a nation which deliberately broke faith.

The American embassy at Tokyo could be left for the time being in charge of subordinate officials; the consular officers could remain in Japan. Contact with

Japan thus would be maintained. The withdrawal of the ambassador could be made a simple but clear-cut gesture indicating the loss of American confidence in the good faith of the Japanese government because of deliberately continued treaty violations—with the way open for immediate restoration of that confidence when the treaty violations ceased—and the consequent unwillingness of the United States during the treaty violation period to have a representative in Japan of a rank to deal with more than the simplest routine matters.

Having sent such a note, the American government should await developments. If Japanese troops continue to occupy Chinese soil at Shanghai and the government refuse to have them promptly withdrawn, the United States should proceed actually to withdraw the American ambassador from Tokyo. As far as Manchuria is concerned, the January 7 note, by implication at least, says that the American government will postpone further action until the neutral commission has had an opportunity to study the situation. For the present, that situation can rest.

The situation at Shanghai cannot rest; nor need it. A note from the United States along the lines I have suggested would come as a severe shock to the Japanese people. More than anything else which the United States possibly could do, it would help to awaken them to what their military actually are doing to their country's international reputation. It is probable that such a note would be sufficient by itself to give the civilians in Japan the chance they earnestly desire to regain control. The actual withdrawal of the American ambassador, if that became necessary, would be so great a blow to the pride of the Japanese that the military party could not possibly survive for any length of time. Perhaps the first reaction to such a note from the United States would be a strengthening of national feeling behind the military. This is possible, though I do not think probable. But that phase would pass quickly as the real significance of the American action came to be appreciated by the people. The military domination of Japan could not be more complete than it now is, in any case, and the policy of mild politeness has failed completely in checking that military domination. The outlawing of Japan if she continues to use the outlawed weapon of war would convince the Japanese that the military had disgraced the country. This would smash the power of the military party and end not only the present crisis but the threat which that party is to Far Eastern peace and to world peace.

The Military Mind

A "Practical Pacifist" is a destroyer of the defense necessary to prevent the manchurizing of his country. . . . A "Practical Pacifist" is a pink propagandist proselytizing for pallid peace at any price.—*Army and Navy Journal*, January 30, 1932.

Mahatma Gandhi's Attitude Toward War

BARTHOLOMEW DE LIGHT

AT the Congress of War Resisters, held at Lyons in August, 1931, Valentin Bulgakov spoke of the "great experience" gained by India in its struggle against England. And not without reason did he express admiration for the role played by Gandhi in this struggle. Nevertheless, Bulgakov's tendency was to attribute to the Mahatma an attitude consistently hostile to any sort of violence—an attitude which, according to Gandhi himself, does not correspond with the facts.

In *Le Semeur* of October 15th, 1931, Bulgakov declared that the correspondence which Vladimir Tchertkoff, of Moscow, and that which I myself have had with the Indian leader, relating to his attitude during the Boer War, the Natal War and the World War, concerns only "a few ill-advised declarations" of Gandhi, "purely accidental" and remaining "without effect, Gandhi's actions proving that he in no way approves of the coöperation of violence."

One wonders how it is that such a clear-sighted and sincere man as Bulgakov is not able to grasp what Gandhi himself has written in regard to his own past. In his autobiography, Gandhi declares that he took part in the work of the Red Cross with the English Army during the Boer War although he knew that the Boers were in the right, and in the Zulu War, though in the latter stage he understood very well that here there was no longer a war, but a veritable man hunt. Without doubt, Gandhi endeavored, as a member of the Red Cross, to relieve the sufferings of the unfortunate blacks in particular, but, as he declared in *Young India* of September 8, 1928, he recognized that participating in the work of the Red Cross was nothing else but participating in war. As to 1914, Gandhi declares in his autobiography that he again joined the Red Cross because he wished to express by this action that it was the duty of the Hindus to participate in the defense of the British Empire. The principal reason why Gandhi took part, on three different occasions, in British wars and was even induced to participate in the war conference of the Viceroy of India and to carry on a recruiting campaign among his compatriots in 1918, was the hope of seeing his loyalty and that of India to the British Empire in time of danger rewarded by the gift of dominion status.

But when, in the course of the reception given in Gandhi's honour at Lausanne, I asked the Hindu leader this simple question: "What would you do if an eventually free India were to enter into a war?" Gandhi replied that he was convinced that, if India freed her-

self by non-violent means, she would never more go to war. If, however, contrary to all his dreams, an eventually free India should go to war, he hoped—with divine assistance—to have the strength to rise up against his government and to stand in the way of violent resistance.

DEEPLY moved by the fatal consequences of the World War, Gandhi seemed to consider it his chief duty to indicate to his hearers how methods of direct non-violent action could be employed by Western nations in order to free themselves from the scourge of armaments and of war. At Paris, at Lausanne, at Geneva, he insisted repeatedly on the effect which non-coöperation, boycott and other non-violent means could have in this struggle. At the same time, he emphasized that non-violent resistance ought to be based upon a profound conviction, upon faith, so to speak, and that one should be able to bring to it a courage superior to that of the soldier. In this resistance, men and women, old and young, all can collaborate. Gandhi even emphasized what can be done in this respect by women and young people. Resistance, however, is not possible unless one has the courage to break with the modern state, which rests essentially upon violence and which, without militarism and without war preparation, could not even subsist, all modern civilization being based on the exploitation of oppressed classes and races. That is why Gandhi thinks that the struggle for world peace ought to coincide with the struggle for the liberation of the colored races and for social justice.

Gandhi does not believe that Professor Einstein's proposal to raise as soon as possible to two per cent the number of those who would refuse military service would be sufficient to upset the whole military organization. In the first place, it does not seem to him right that, while war and militarism are symptoms of the mentality of a whole nation, the full weight of the struggle should fall upon a very small percentage of the entire population. It should not be forgotten that young men are enrolled only because compulsory military service exists. But the most profound cause of war does not reside in this military service, but in the fact that the whole of modern society is, in principle, built upon violence. Although Gandhi may have all possible respect for individual refusal to do military service, he does not think that one has the right to leave the struggle against war in the hands of a few. On the other hand, he maintains, by drawing special attention to the refusal of military service, one gives the impres-

sion that the struggle against war can be put off until the last moment. It remains, however, to be seen whether, during an eventual mobilization, the single act of refusing service would really be sufficient to render fighting and bloodshed impossible.

TO put into effective practice methods of non-coöperation, boycott, collective refusal of tax payment, etc., there must be moral preparation and a systematic education of the great masses of the people. What has been done in this domain in India was preceded by a decade of continuous propaganda. People must become conscious of the extraordinary moral forces at their disposal. Each participant in non-violent resistance should undergo an internal regeneration; he must understand that armaments, compulsory military service and even war are only relatively superficial symptoms of a very deeply rooted moral disorder, of a capitalist-imperialist mentality which must be vanquished and overcome in one's own conscience. The more closely men approach this aim, the better will they be able to break the power of the modern state by depriving it of all collaboration.

Although Gandhi formerly participated in war by joining the Red Cross, recently, at Geneva, he deplored the fact that that institution was still subordinate to the military system, and now, from this point of view, he condemns it as much as Tolstoi did. According to Gandhi's new attitude, the Red Cross should cease to recognize and tolerate the crime of war. Instead of preparing especially to do good work during the bloody combat, it ought to do everything to abolish war. Instead of talking exclusively about saving the wounded in time of war, and of restoring war-devastated regions, why not get ready to heal and to prevent all the ills of humanity, since millions of men are injuring themselves daily through their own folly, and innumerable homes are destroyed through the immoral conduct of those who inhabit them? If, as it is sincerely to be hoped, the Mahatma will persevere in this attitude, even under circumstances in which he would have to sacrifice immense national interests, and, if necessary, the political independence of his own people, he will have done well in the interests of the international anti-militarist movement and in the interests of the future of humanity.

YET there are still some problems to face in connection with Gandhi's attitude. The same Gandhi who, at Lausanne and Geneva, advised the Swiss people and all Western nations suffering beneath the burden of armaments and threat of war, to renounce violent national defence and to free themselves from all armaments by practicing direct non-violent action, demanded for India, at the Round Table Conference in London, "control over her own defence forces and over her external affairs." "Defence, its army, is to a nation the

very essence of its existence," he declared, "and if a nation's defence is controlled by an outside agency, no matter how friendly it is, then that nation is certainly not responsibly governed. This is what our English teachers have taught us. . . . Hence I am here very respectfully to claim, on behalf of the Congress, complete control over the army, over the defence forces and over external affairs."

Gandhi considers the army in India at present as an army of occupation. Whether it is composed of Indians or of Europeans, that does not alter its character in any way. The armed force in India today is there for "the defence of British interests and for avoiding or resisting foreign aggression . . . it is an army intended to suppress rebellion against constituted authority." An India really free could not support such an institution. Even if the British troops stayed in India, they would no longer have to protect British citizens, who would then be foreigners in that country, but would be there "to protect India against foreign aggression, even against internal insurrection, as if they were defending and serving their own countrymen." At London, Gandhi declared: "It should be the proud privilege and the proud duty of Great Britain now to initiate us in the mysteries of conducting our own defence. Having clipped our wings, it is their duty to give us wings whereby we can fly, even as they fly. That is really my ambition, and, therefore, I say, I would wait till eternity if I cannot get control of defence." In view of the contradiction which exists between what Gandhi asked for in London for his own people and what in Switzerland he advised others to do, one might apply to the Mahatma the biblical words: "Physician, heal thyself."

OF course, when Gandhi speaks at public meetings in Europe and replies to questions on present-day subjects of vital interest to those who ask them, he does not need to consider the exigencies of the Indian Congress, which he had to represent at the Round Table Conference. Gandhi has always two ways of looking at things. In the first place, he is struggling, in collaboration with the Congress, whose first delegate he was at London, for the political freedom of India, and while doing this, he identifies himself completely with the desiderata of the National Congress. In the second place, he himself, as adherent of a religion and ethic having a universalist and humanitarian tendency, could go much farther than the Congress and his nation in general. That is why, on the one hand, he hopes that India, by increasingly practicing non-violent methods will, once she has gained her independence, rise to the point where she will no longer have recourse to war, whereas, on the other hand, he declares that, if an eventually free India should go to war, he hopes to receive, from God Himself, the strength to go against

his own government and to refuse to participate in violent measures of national defense.

This attitude, however, presents a fundamental contradiction, the consequence of which might very well be that if an eventually free India were to go to war for one cause or another, Gandhi, in spite of his better intentions, or at least a great many of his partisans, would enlist in the Indian army with the same enthusiasm as Gandhi himself showed when he enlisted for three British wars.

Here, a tactical error leads to fatal consequences. Gandhi, whose non-violent point of view is in flagrant contradiction to the Indian bourgeois State which the Congress is engaged in preparing, has nevertheless acknowledged that between the demands of the Congress and those of his own doctrine there is a certain agreement, in the sense that both insist upon India's complete liberation, national independence, and, as Gandhi puts it, the right for India even to do wrong if it appears to her right. Gandhi has admitted that in an eventually free India he may be obliged to set himself more than ever against his own people, because that people may, according to the Mahatma, deviate from the right path. However, in order to attain that state of purely formal liberty, Gandhi has identified himself too much with the Congress, and is thus fulfilling ambiguous functions which often force him to support dangerous social and political tendencies which he ought, on the contrary, to fight against continuously, if he is to remain true to his own principles.

ALL those who are fighting for social revolution, without, however, being in favour of the dictatorship methods and military measures still practiced by the great majority of those who are endeavoring to create a more humane society, can understand the difficulties in the midst of which Gandhi is battling. Like them, from what can be called a negative point of view, he is the firm ally of all those who are fighting to destroy an oppressive yoke, but from several other angles, his real object and his means of combat differ greatly from those of his fellow combatants.

Even concerning the question of national defense, Gandhi could have avoided any ambiguity and rendered great services in the struggle against any kind of war, if, at the Round Table Conference, in claiming for his country complete liberty, he had not joined forces with those who hope to profit from India's eventual armaments and wars, but had simply asked for his country the right to organize its own national defense forces as it thought best. Thus he would have, from the beginning, avoided any responsibility concerning India's eventual armaments and the disastrous consequences which may result therefrom. He could even have declared to the Round Table Conference: "I claim for India full right to defend herself as she thinks best, but

I assure you that I myself, who feel responsible, not only for India's future, but for the future of all mankind, shall do all in my power to prevent India from following the deplorable example of England and other Western nations in arming herself with the means of physical and murderous combat. I am sacrificing myself for the future of a people which will fulfill its vocation in the world only if, even in the most dangerous circumstances, it employs solely those non-violent methods which have already enabled me to come among you at this conference. This is a first step to victory and has been gained in an exemplary manner such as ought to inspire all nations to adopt non-violent methods, even for their national defense."

A statement such as the foregoing is, in my opinion, the *minimum* that all war resisters have the right to demand from the great Oriental leader, since he has come to give a lesson in anti-militarist morality to the Western nations. If, inspired by his great love of truth and veracity, Gandhi realizes the consequences resulting from his own theses as set forth at Lausanne and Geneva, it is certain that he will come more and more to the point of view of the revolutionary anti-militarists.

A Reply to M. De Ligt

RICHARD B. GREGG

THOSE who are familiar with Gandhi's life will recall that up to 1919 he believed that the British Empire did more good than harm to the world and to India. He had not then evolved his program of hand-spinning and weaving, nor in his South African struggles had he used the boycott or refusal to pay taxes as political weapons. He has stated that up to that time he did not have strength to resist war effectively.

Therefore, I think that he did war service because up till then he did not realize the extent of violence and untruth inherent in the State; he did not fully understand the complex and subtle nature of its control over people; and had not yet devised practical methods of ending that control. Nevertheless, he knew that war is only a result, a final stage of a psychological process that begins with fear, anger and greed. In organized social life most of us support the State by paying taxes, by buying articles from people or corporations which similarly support the State, and by not effectively helping others to escape this domination. To refuse military service after taking part in all this is merely to lock the stable door after the horse is stolen. Gandhi seems to have preferred to take some part in war to see if somehow he could render good for evil. Innocent or inconsistent perhaps, but with deeper understanding than that of most.

What about Gandhi's demand at London for Indian control of the army? I think that Gandhi wants India to make a free choice as between violence and non-violence, and he believes that no such choice can be made until India has at least the complete right to maintain and control her own army. Moral character and growth can be attained not through external prohibitions, but only by free individual choices in a situation where alternatives are open. Gandhi will do his utmost to persuade India to choose non-violence, but nevertheless he wants the choice to be voluntary.

Non-violent resistance requires courage greater than the courage to fight violently. In the evolution of mankind, courage to fight comes first. Therefore, among a people who have been rendered timid by centuries of subjection, there may be many who may first have to learn the courage of violence before they can develop the higher courage of non-violence. Gandhi hopes that the process of waging a national struggle by non-violent resistance will bridge over and eliminate that stage for his people and will convince the whole Indian nation that non-violent resistance is much more effective than violence.

The consistency which M. De Ligt apparently wishes for Gandhi is an affair of intellectual logic which

overlooks the immense complexity of human personality and the complexity of the forces which play upon it. To ask a man always to be consistent would mean to ask him not to grow, not to engage in joint action with many people; indeed, not to be human.

Disarmament by Example

My message to American Christians on world peace and disarmament is that peace and disarmament are not a matter of reciprocity. When real peace and disarmament come, they will be initiated by a strong nation like America—irrespective of the consent and coöperation of other nations.

An individual or a nation must have faith in one's self and in the protective power of God to find peace in the midst of strife, and to shed all arms by reason of feeling the loving power of God and His protective shield, and I hold such peace to be impossible so long as strong nations do not consider it to be sinful to exploit weak nations.—*Mahatma Gandhi, in a letter to The Christian Herald, January, 1932.*

Money, Credit and the Depression

PAUL H. DOUGLAS

A BUSINESS depression, like a forest fire, follows a cumulative course. Once an initial fall in prices occurs, goods produced at an earlier and higher price level must be sold at a later and lower level. This impairment and in some cases disappearance of the margin of profits causes business men to move more carefully, to buy less raw material, and to reduce the scale of their operations. But this means that the workers have a smaller amount of wages to spend. Retail stores in consequence sell less and they then curtail their purchases from wholesalers. Since they still have large stocks of goods on hand they in fact tend to cut down their purchases by more than the proportion in which their sales have fallen. Wholesalers are in turn forced to order less from manufacturers and their reduction is by a greater degree than that by which their own sales have diminished. But the manufacturers are then compelled to lay off more men, who buy less from retail stores, which buy less from wholesale establishments, which in turn purchase less from factories, which are then compelled to lay off more men. And so the vicious circle sweeps on, destroying demand, production, employment, and purchasing power cumulatively as it goes.

There is a second cumulative type of breakdown

which causes the industries producing machinery and capital goods to suffer. Capital goods of this type are not only produced to replace machinery, etc., which is worn out, but also to provide for the growth in the production of consumers' goods. Should this rate of growth even slacken, the demand for, and hence the production of, capital goods might decrease. But when there is even a slight decline in the demand for consumers' goods, then the production of capital goods must necessarily decrease to a far greater extent. Not only are no new machines needed for the growth which is not there, but the actual decrease in production causes some of the consuming goods industries not to replace their depreciated and obsolescent machines. In consequence of all this, slight decreases in the food, clothing, furniture and other industries cause a far greater falling off of production and employment in foundries and machine shops, blast furnaces and rolling mills, etc.

There are three other forces, connected with the monetary and banking mechanism, which also operate in a cumulative way to create an intensified depression. When prices begin to fall and a few banks begin to call their loans they compel their borrowers to sell securities or other collateral and either directly or indirectly

to draw deposited funds from other banks. These banks find their deposits melting and in self-defense are compelled to call and reduce their loans. But this in turn leads to a withdrawal of deposits from other banks and causes them to call still more loans. As a result of all this, checking accounts shrink rapidly and since it is such credit which is largely offered for goods, the price level itself must decline. This in turn causes a further diminution, by the process outlined, in the production of both consumers' and producers' goods.

Nor is this all. Workmen afraid of unemployment tend to save more during a depression period and hence still further contract the demand for consumers' goods. If these savings were promptly re-invested by the banks little harm would be done since the demand for capital goods would increase commensurately. But this is not in fact the case. Business, with declining profit margins is not anxious to expand. Purchasing power is therefore impounded in the banking system and employment diminished. Furthermore, during a depression, the velocity of circulation of both money and credit is appreciably reduced. Business firms maintain larger checking accounts in proportion to their business since the possibilities of alternative uses are less enticing. Consumers hold dollars in their pockets longer because they expect prices to fall still further and their money will consequently be worth more. If and when a general suspicion of the banking system develops, depositors will try to turn their deposits into cash and hold them in reserve. Such is the so-called "hoarding" at the present time. The effect is to decrease the quantity of money offered for goods and hence again to cause prices to decrease.

NOW, if this analysis is correct, the fundamental difficulties are both double and inter-related. The fall in prices and the cumulative diminution of both money and credit are the forces which cause the system to plunge down hill. If this is so, what is then needed is such an increase in the quantity of monetary purchasing power as will cause more goods to be demanded, arrest the downward movement of prices and in fact start them upward, restore the margin of profit to industry and give it the courage to go on.

The banks as a whole have the potential power to create this additional purchasing power by making loans in the form of deposits which they credit to the accounts of their borrowers. But the banks are in practice kept back from adopting such a policy by three sets of forces and considerations. They are afraid of the future course of business and are uncertain as to whether their borrowers can repay when the time comes. Moreover, if only a few banks start such a policy and the others do not follow suit, then the checks drawn on the newly created accounts will mostly find their way into other banks. The expanding banks will

then have large adverse balances to meet which will drain their resources and force them to call a sufficient quantity of their other loans to preserve their balance. The expansion of credit by a fraction of the banks during such periods of depression is therefore self-defeating. Finally, even if interest rates are low, business men faced with falling prices and narrow or non-existent profit margins are reluctant to borrow. For all these reasons, therefore, it seems impossible to obtain from the banks any adequate increase in effective monetary purchasing power until after the depression has run a long course and until after still greater misery has been caused.

Since business and banking seem helpless by themselves to bring adequate relief, the only agency left which can pump additional monetary purchasing power into circulation is the government. If we waive for the moment the problems of world prices and of the exchange ratios of currencies, this could be done by one or more of the following methods:

(1) The Federal Reserve Banks could carry on open-market operations through the purchase of government bonds. This would drive up their price and since the interest on each bond is in terms of so many dollars a year, the effect would be to lower their yield and hence to decrease the long-time rate of interest. If this fall in the rate of interest were sufficiently pronounced, then builders and contractors would presumably take heart and would borrow more for long-time building operations. The stock of available purchasing power would thus be increased and the revival in business aided.

Unfortunately, however, it is probable in the present situation that the quantity of government bonds which the Reserve Banks could purchase would not be sufficient to reduce the rate of interest to the extent which is needed if any great revival of business is to take place.

(2) A second method which could be adopted would be to empower the Reserve Banks by law to issue Federal Reserve notes in return for certain classes of government bonds deposited with them. This privilege would probably be limited to banks and would operate to build up the reserves of the banks. It would also operate to decrease the amount of gold which is now used as a coverage for Federal Reserve notes and thus increase the amount of free gold available to meet a possible foreign "run" on their deposits here. It is argued that the increase in bank resources would give the banks as a whole much more courage and would induce them to make more loans and thus create more deposits and more credit. That some such effect would ultimately follow seems in fact probable, but it is also probable that it would require a very considerable period of time before it would become effective to any appreciable degree. If additional credit is

to be created, it is not enough for banks to have swelling reserves. It is also necessary for business to want to borrow for expanded activities. This it will not do as long as prices keep declining and profit margins shrinking. This reluctance will be particularly strong if, as now seems to be the case, internal costs have declined much more slowly than their selling prices.

(3) It would seem, therefore, that a more direct method of attack should be made upon the problem of building up monetary purchasing power and that this should take the form of increasing the purchasing power of consumers as well as of building up bank reserves. When consumers once start purchasing more goods, then the beneficial effects will soon be felt in the form of more orders by retailers and wholesalers, and hence increased production and employment in the factories. This increased employment will in turn cumulatively build up purchasing power.

THIS additional purchasing power could be put into circulation in at least three ways. (a) Paying unemployment relief to the vast group who are literally near starvation. With at least seven million unemployed in this third black winter and with such great cities as New York, Chicago, Philadelphia and Detroit almost bankrupt, there is need for large federal funds. There has seldom been a more revealing illustration of the class character of our government than the spectacle of the President and Congress pouring two billion dollars of public credit into the Reconstruction Finance Corporation in order to help buoy up for the propertied classes the prices of securities at the very time when they are refusing adequate aid to protect the unemployed from cold and hunger. A truly humane or even representative government would center its attention instead on the elemental needs of its citizens. (b) Carrying on a program of public works, most notably in the field of slum clearance and the construction of homes for the workers. While our cities have been growing on their outskirts, they have been rotting at their centers and we now have slums which are the equal of any in the world. The earnings of the unskilled and semi-skilled are insufficient to provide decent housing on a commercial basis and if they are to be adequately housed it must be with governmental aid. If the country were governed by logic, it would certainly put a large fraction of its unemployed to work tearing out its blighted areas and replacing them with those types of model dwellings with which Vienna has so successfully experimented. That would not only create the most necessary form of social capital out of what would otherwise be wasted human energy, but it would put added money into the pockets of the workers and material men and thus be a mighty contribution to a general revival of business. (c) Having the federal government run a deficit during the depression period

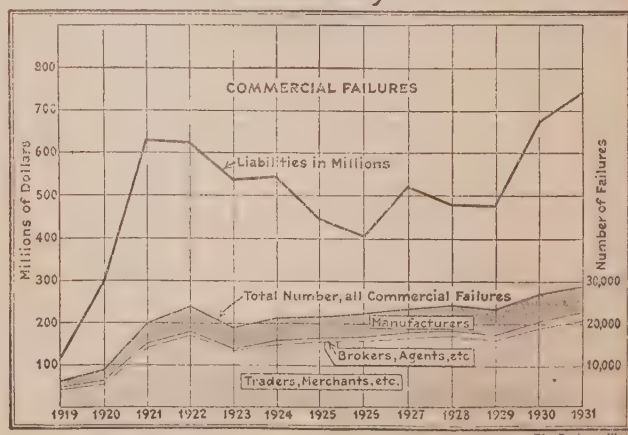
which would be met by the creation of additional monetary purchasing power. This, to the great distress of our financial purists, is exactly what is happening.

(4) The sums necessary to pay for unemployment relief, slum clearance, and the meeting of governmental deficits can be met by issuing bonds which can then be used as security for Federal Reserve notes, or by issuing money as such. The latter method arouses superstitious fear on the part of many, but if properly managed might be productive of great good in getting the price level started upward and business restored. Moreover, it would not require interest payments as would bonds, and since not all of the notes issued would have to be retired in the future, there would thus be a saving on the principal as well.

The dangers of such a policy would chiefly consist in the alarm which it would create among foreigners and the withdrawal of short-time loans and the sale of securities for foreign transfer which would result. This might very possibly carry us off the gold-standard.

But against this should be set the great gain in internal stability and diminished unemployment which such a policy would create. In the face of a falling world price level, it is impossible for one nation both to arrest the fall in its price level and to keep its exchanges constant. If it does the former, it must sooner or later expect to forego the latter. But for us, as for most nations, internal stability is in general more important than stable exchanges. We need to experiment more boldly with pumping more monetary purchasing power into the economic life of the country by governmental action. A managed currency seems a necessity if business depressions are to be even appreciably reduced in the future and if the injustices of changing price levels are to be avoided. The one great difficulty is whether we can trust those who would manage it. But that is another story. Certainly if mankind could but develop some sense in monetary matters, the present difficulties could largely be made to disappear.

Insecurity!



The Business Week

The Way of Love in China*

WALTER JUDD

THAT the way of love works is a deep conviction that I desire to share with you. My hospital in China has been taken over by hostile groups of one faction or another seven times in the last five years. Every time we were practically cleaned out, except for the drug room. Thank Heaven the medicine comes in foreign bottles with foreign names. They had heard of the white man's powerful medicine and they were afraid to interfere with it. That fact allowed me to continue my work.

Somebody said to me the other day, "If I were living as you have been living, I would want a gun." Well, if I had had a gun, I wouldn't be here tonight!

After I had been in China only a short time in the winter of 1926-27, the Nationalist troops were coming up from the South, filled with Russian propaganda against the British. Russia was trying to create a world revolution. The chief obstacle to that revolution was the stability of the British government under the Conservative Party; hence she worked against England in China by high-pressure propaganda.

When the Nationalist forces reached our community, somebody told them I was a Britisher. They got hold of me and bound me up in order to shoot me. I protested the best I could that I was not a Britisher. They didn't believe me. If a man knew he would be killed if he admitted he was a Britisher, of course he wouldn't admit it. To do so wouldn't be honesty; it would be dumbness! So naturally they paid no attention to what I said.

But I was talking full speed. It is amazing how well you can talk Chinese when you have to! Words just come flowing in from somewhere that you didn't realize you knew. I was trying to delay the game long enough for local people to gather around to take my part. A crowd gathers quickly under such circumstances. I tried to get my passport, but they wouldn't let me loose. In about three minutes—I thought it was three weeks—along came a man with three or four others. He was a farmer. I didn't recognize him then, but I found out afterward that he has been a patient in the hospital. I had operated on a boil on his neck. You wouldn't think that would win a man's favor, but it apparently did. He heard me protesting, "I am not an Englishman; I am an American. I am from Meikou."

Now, that man had never been ten miles from home in his life. He had no more idea what Meikuo (America) was than the man in the moon. But he knew I was trying to convince these people that I was

from some place by the name of Meikuo, and that if I could convince them of that fact, they would let me go. He got down on his knees and hit his forehead on the rocks until the blood ran out. He grabbed my captors by their knees. One man seized him by the back of his coat while another stabbed his bayonet through the garment. They hit him with the butts of their guns; I thought he was going to be killed then and there. But he delayed things long enough so that others came and took my part. Some of the soldiers held a consultation. Finally they got the magistrate and let me go. They apologized; they hadn't intended to kill any Americans.

On another occasion, about three years ago, I was going down the river with another doctor who at the time was very ill, a man over 60 years old. He was so ill we had to take him down the river where he could get better care. If we did take him, there was risk on the river of an encounter with bandits. But if we didn't, he was likely to die. On the second day we ran into bandits; there they were, 40 or 50 of them. I thought, "What will happen to this sick doctor if they seize him? If they take me up on the hills, it is all right. I am young and perhaps can talk them out of it. But if they take this sick man, he will die in one night of midwinter exposure."

Luckily, among them I saw a fellow I knew, a friend of mine. He had been in the hospital as a patient. Nobody likes to be known as a bandit, and practically every bandit, if he can get enough ahead, goes in to town some time during the year to get cleaned up and be a good citizen for a while. This man had been in the clinic. I hadn't known he was a bandit at that time. He was a good friend of mine as far as I knew. He began to edge off. He was ashamed to let me see him in that capacity. I somehow hit on the right thing to do. I threw myself, you might say, on his mercy. I walked over to him and said, "My, I am glad I ran into you! I was nervous about things. The old doctor with me is very ill. I had to bring him down the river. I heard there were bandits down here. I was afraid we might run into some."

He said, "That's right. There are bandits down here. You ought not to be here."

"I know it," I said, "but we had to come. Can't you do something to help us through the bandits?"

Now he was a bandit. I knew he was a bandit. Furthermore, he knew I knew he was a bandit, but we didn't say anything about it! Thus he had a chance not only to save his face, but to save me, to become my

* From an address delivered by Dr. Judd at the Student Volunteer Movement Convention in Buffalo.

protector. You ought to have heard that man take my part! Some insisted that they carry us off for ransom. Here was a prize of \$50,000! (They think we foreigners are all rich.) That fellow protested for two hours and finally prevailed, and they put four men on the boats and told the boatmen to go slowly, which meant we were going to go close to the main body of bandits down below and they wanted time to send runners ahead to tell them not to shoot us when we went by. We didn't see any of the bandits as we went along. But, of course, they were there in the grass looking at us.

LET me tell you about one other experience. I was under surveillance, in a sort of polite captivity, for several months last year, in the hands of the most cruel, vicious man I ever saw. Every country has good men and women, and every country has bad men and women. This man was a terrible man. He was ignorant and uneducated, to be sure; but believe me, a man who can hold out as the head of a band of bandits of eight or nine hundred men, must have force of character. The survival of the fittest calls for a real struggle.

He captured our city in 1930. As long as he was in the city and allowed to get the taxes legally, he would rather do it legally—or with the pretense of legality, and of orderliness. As long as I attended to my business and took care of his sick men and didn't make any effort to escape, they interfered very little with my usual routine. Fortunately, for me, he got a bad conjunctivitis and took Chinese medicine and got worse. He came to me and luckily I was able to clear it up quickly, which to a certain degree put him under obligation to me.

The fighting in the North finished in October, and the government started to send good troops back down to the South. We knew we were headed for trouble. That same month I took sick with my forty-fourth attack of malignant malaria.

The second morning of my illness, after a night of delirium, I was mentally clear and gave instructions to the Chinese nurse, a graduate of the Methodist hospital in Peking and the finest nurse I ever worked with. I know now how people feel when they think it is all over. I have read about men being caught out in a snowstorm, freezing to death, wanting only to lie down and die. It is just so hard to make yourself try to live. You are miserable and lonely and far away. If you could just die and have the pain over with—what a relief! Yet something in your training won't let you give up.

Tears were pouring down the face of my nurse. She knew what we were up against; she had seen plenty of people die of malignant malaria. Many times they come down in the afternoon, at four o'clock, and the

next afternoon at four o'clock, unless treated vigorously, they are dead. I had more resistance than that however, because I had had many previous attacks.

For eleven days I wasn't able to keep a thing down by mouth, and the nurse had to give me fluid and nourishment by other means. Along about the eighth of November I came around a bit and began to eat a little. On the twelfth of November, a Catholic priest was brought in—a Swiss who lived in a neighboring district and who was desperately ill. There we were, two sick foreigners, twelve days' journey from the next doctor. I had to get up and do the best I could for him. He was so far gone, I was sure he couldn't get well. I went to him that day in a sedan chair and again the next day, but the following morning I could not go any more. He passed away on the third day, and I came pretty near going with him. But that little nurse never wavered.

IN time I began to gain strength. Then came word that a new army was being sent down by Nanking to take over the district, and that this bandit group would be driven out. Everybody knew what would happen. They would take me and hold me for ransom, because they needed a doctor and needed money. They would take my little nurse. She is the best trained and most attractive girl in the whole district and she and other girls would have fates worse than that of concubines. They would take all the people of the city who have money and hold them until their families scraped up every copper they could to ransom them out.

At about one o'clock on the afternoon before New Year's, a secretary, a very good friend, came from military headquarters and said: "Doctor, they are going to leave tonight. They are going to take you. I heard them talking about it. And they are going to take people for ransom and loot the city tonight." I knew what would happen to me after about two days of exposure in the middle of the winter in my weak condition!

But at seven o'clock, the bandit chief himself came into my dispensary and sat down, and without preliminary, said, "Dr. Judd, we are leaving tonight, and I was going to take you along, as you know. But I have decided not to do it. You have been fair with us and have taken care of us in the hospital here, and I know you are not getting any money out of it. You have been sick yourself. If you had to live the way we all have to live on the hills in the middle of the winter, you wouldn't last long. I know it. Hence I am not going to take you. How much do we owe the hospital?"

It was the first time one of that type of person had ever offered to pay us anything. He paid the hospital \$170 and went out. In the middle of the night, at two

o'clock, when the shops were all closed so his men couldn't loot and he could control them better, he left. He took not a man or a woman.

I thought of only one thing as he sat there—Francis Thompson's "Hound of Heaven." It had been after him. He couldn't do what he had planned. Something had happened to him. He could not do it. If God can change the heart of such a man, He can change anybody. The way of love works!

Oh, don't misunderstand me, my friends. Don't think my religion is just a charm to me, something to

keep me safe personally. I might get picked off the second day after I get back, but what difference does that make if my deepest desire is that China come to know and follow Christ? I shall never have another worry on that point again, because I know that if in that hour I act as a Christian ought to act, the man who pulls the trigger will have something happen to him. It has always been so. The way of love does not necessarily bring personal safety; it more often brings danger. But it does transform the lives of those among whom it is followed.

A Diary from a Kentucky Mining Camp

JENNIE LEE

OF all the desolate, God-forsaken spots I have ever known, American mining camps are certainly the worst. The reports of hunger and repression which come through from the pits to the neighboring towns sound like wild exaggerations of what could actually take place until one has been there, for such abject poverty must be seen to be believed.

Pineville itself is not a mining camp. It is the small county town of Bell County, Kentucky, but it makes a convenient starting point for a visit to the surrounding collieries, provided that is, that the police authorities do not make it a finishing point before the unwary visitor even begins to get going.

An incident which almost landed me in jail within an hour of my arrival helped considerably to acquaint me with the spirit and form of the local judicial system and to explain much that I saw and heard subsequently. As my train steamed into the station, I learned that a meeting of miners was in progress in front of the County Buildings, so I hurried to the spot but was only in time to hear the Mayor stop the speakers on the ground that no permit had been sought. I looked around expectantly to see what the crowd proposed to do, but with hardly a murmur they slowly turned away and drugged back towards the camps. I joined one group of shabby, cowed looking mining folks and asked what they would do next. "What can we do? There is nothing to be done," an elderly man replied. A younger member of the group told me that they would probably try again the following day, but the others looked sceptical.

At this point the woman who had been addressing the crowd before the Mayor intervened was freed from the office of the deputy sheriff, where she had been undergoing a close cross-questioning, and, learning that she was the wife of a local miner, I was glad to get her to come with me to my hotel. But hardly had we seated ourselves and begun to discuss the conditions in the camps when the door of my bedroom was

thrown open and the Mayor and the Chief of Police marched in. Both demanded to know who I was and what was my business there, but without giving time for replies, the officer of the law stepped forward and announced, "I guess we'll keep you!" It all seemed a joke to me—a kind of wild-and-woolly-West scene from an American Movie—but I soon discovered differently. I am convinced that had I been a freeborn American instead of a visitor from Britain, the customary hospitality of the place would have been extended to me and I should probably at this moment be in an American prison.

Later in the day I visited the local jail and discovered about a score of men and half a dozen women who had come to the area to help organize or merely to help feed the starving miners. It appears that these activities are regarded as criminal tendencies in this part of the world and these people were accordingly placed safely behind lock and bar. In theory the law permits the miners to organize, demonstrate, and collect relief provided they are in no way associated with the Communist party, but in practice charges of criminal syndicalism and breaches of the peace are lavishly distributed among all comers who show active sympathy of any kind on behalf of the miners.

In Britain we have grim enough struggles between miners and police when an industrial dispute is on, and the whole machinery of the State is just as definitely weighted against the miner as on this side of the Atlantic. But we have still to reach the stage when the ordinary capitalist press can casually report as a piece of local news that "Armed deputies, carrying sub-machine guns, highpowered rifles and pistols buckled to their belts, patrolled the highways leading into Harlan to prevent the strikers holding their much-heralded mass meeting. Thirteen heavily armed deputies were stationed at the entrance of Wallins Creek where a meeting was also expected." Or again, "Two representatives of the National Miners' Union said they had

been beaten into insensibility and displayed wounds on their bodies that they charged had been inflicted with clubs and sandbags."

The day following my civic reception in Pineville, I made my way into several of the camps and on every hand got further reports of police terrorism. The blacklisting of active spirits among the men and the practice of literally beating them out of the county is taken as part of the established order of things, and, in addition, more than three hundred men are in gaol or under bond on charges that range from breaches of the peace to criminal syndicalism and, in some cases, even murder.

AND what an air of desolation hangs around those camps! Everywhere the same scene confronted me—dreary rows of dilapidated shacks, lacking even the most rudimentary sanitation; mud and scanty brown grass where gardens and streets might have been, the threatening outline of the pit in the background and the Company Store in the centre. Curious to know something about these modern American versions of the notorious English "Tommy" shops of Truck Act days, I discussed them with several of the women in the camps and everywhere found angry or sullen resentment at the virtual compulsion to spend their wages at the Company Stores. It appears that if purchases fall below a certain level, the Company sends out a note couched in the smoothest terms asking in what particular entire satisfaction has not been given, as they are anxious to satisfy their customers. But all the camp folks know that failure to increase purchases after receiving such a note may be punished by dismissal. Then in a final excess of chivalry, the Company sees to it that prices in its stores are appreciably higher than in the neighboring shops. I listened to a group of miners' wives arguing whether the increase above normal market rates was as much as 50 per cent or only 20 per cent, but, while they differed on the amount of the increase, all were agreed on the fact that a considerably higher level of prices was exacted by the Company Stores.

From prices we naturally drifted to a discussion of wages. It was admitted that in good times the miners had made as much as four dollars per shift, but one and a half to two dollars is now a normal wage, with rent alone consuming from six to ten dollars a month. For months and even years before the present strike began, two or three days' work per week was a common average of employment.

Before coming to Kentucky I believed that the whole coal field was on strike but alas, hunger and hopelessness had started their devil's dance and thin wisps of gray smoke told another tale. In some parts the men are holding out heroically; in others the operatives have no work for them even though the men agreed

to go back, and in still others where the employers are seriously anxious to resume output, men are crawling back to work. The blackleg here as elsewhere is hell in public contempt but the police effectively protect him except against unusual and spasmodic outbursts of local feeling. It was obvious that relief is of the scantiest kind and in some districts entirely non-existent. In one camp the women talked brokenheartedly of a bowel disease which they called "flux" that had proved fatal to some of the children and was the result of prolonged underfeeding and efforts to stay the pangs of hunger by devouring chunks of raw cabbage or anything at all which they could lay hands on.

One mother told me that during the previous week she and her four children had had to live from Friday to Monday on cabbage leaves alone. I asked what her husband did in the meantime and learned that he had been blacklisted for striking activities and beaten out of the county by "gun thugs." Varied indeed are the rewards of labor leadership! Side by side with the stricken family I see a picture of Philip Snowden in the robes of an English peer and of Ramsay MacDonald as the chosen leader and much fêted friend of British capitalists, including the most savage and most wealthy of our mine owners.

EVEN in those remote Kentucky camps the desertion of British labor leaders in a crisis, however much one may prate of the sincerity and good intentions which guided their actions, is not without its repercussions. Learning that here and there coal companies are running at a loss or without normal profits, the public conscience asks no further questions but accepts that as conclusive proof that nothing can be done for the miner. In Britain the Labour Government had the chance to insist on national ownership of the mines and responsibility for the standard of life of the miner and by its own practical lead to urge the whole world in the direction of international planning of markets and output, reduction of hours of labor and universal improvements in wage rates. Under the leadership of MacDonald and Snowden it lacked the courage to do so. It is no answer to reply that if it had attempted so much it would simply have failed. That is probably so, but since we know that minor remedies or anything that capitalist forces are likely to propose will also fail, an attempt to do the right and adequate thing would have kept the world's confidence in the vigor and integrity of British Labour and would have left the miners throughout the world looking to international socialist action with greater faith than they now do. As it is, bewildered, divided and sceptical of all professed friendships, the miner here as in Britain has almost ceased to believe that purgatory can ever end.

Not in the Headlines

Friends are invited to share with our readers their own discoveries of significant news items.

From Jail to the House of Lords

Mr. Clifford Allen, who served prison sentences as a conscientious objector during the World War, has now been elevated to the peerage. He was formerly secretary of the Independent Labour Party.

Pacifism Sweeps Ministers' Convention

Over 400 Ohio ministers of various communions, in recent convention assembled, declared that they would never again sanction or participate in war or give moral or financial support to any war.

Military Subsidies to Aviators

The French government refunds 46 per cent of the purchase price of private airplanes to French citizens who have secured a pilot's certificate, and for the number of hours above 100 flown in a year, compensation is paid at rates of from 65 to 160 francs per hour, reports the International Anti-Militaristic Commission in Holland.

That All May Read!

When the American Legion succeeded in having disarmament posters removed from the Syracuse Public Library, Dr. Bernard C. Clausen, popular pastor of the First Baptist Church, displayed a copy on his outdoor bulletin board, with the caption: "This is the Poster the American Legion Was Afraid to Have You See."

Condemn Academic Goose Step

Over 300 college presidents, deans, professors and other educators recently signed a petition to Congress, urging the withdrawal of funds from R. O. T. C. units on the campus and challenging the practice of having army officers teach courses in civics, history, economics and education in civilian institutions.

Prestige for Pacifism

Lord Ponsonby has been elected Chairman of the War Resisters' International. He is at present the Leader of the Labour Party in the House of Lords and was formerly Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

The American Dole

At least 250 million dollars will be needed in New Jersey alone during the current year to provide the emergency relief so desperately required, according to Chester I. Barnard, State Director of Emergency Relief.

The Inadequacy of Charity

The average monthly expenditure in 1930 for general family relief in 30 American cities was \$23.83 per family under care, according to a report on Family Welfare by Glenn Steele, just issued by the Children's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor. The amounts ranged from \$7.91 per month in Omaha to \$37.94 in Springfield, Massachusetts.

Socialized Banking Safest

Postal savings deposits, continuing their abnormal increase, have just passed the \$600,000,000 mark, and are now nearly four times greater than they were a year ago, it was stated orally January 15 at the Post Office Department. The total on December 31, 1930 was but \$164,276,392.

A Good Beginning

During the first year of the operation of the New York State Old Age Security Law, 51,168 indigent aged were granted pension aid. The average State pension granted for the year as a whole was \$26.92 per pensioner per month.

Far Less Expensive Than Armaments

School enrollment increased 5,690,000 between 1920 and 1930 in the United States, causing the various types of schools throughout the country to provide facilities for 20 per cent more students, according to an announcement recently given out by the Federal Office of Education.

Down on the Farm

Farm employment is at the lowest level since the records were started by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics 13 years ago, and farm wages on January 1 had declined 12 per cent since October 1 to 98 per cent of the prewar average, with numerous laborers working for food and lodging alone. The demand for farm hands is only 60.5 per cent of normal and the supply is 120.9 per cent, bringing the ratio of supply to demand up to 199.8 per cent.

Canada Turns Him Back

Reverend Herman J. Hahn, Socialist clergyman of Buffalo, who was recently barred from the air by a Buffalo radio station, has since been refused entrance to Canada on the false charge that he is a Communist—a practice not unknown to our own immigration officials.

Twelve and Five Billions

Official German authorities maintain that the total amount of reparations paid to date exceeds twelve billion dollars, whereas the Allied governments credit her with less than five billions. The discrepancy is due to different valuations placed upon deliveries in kind and the various other transfers made by Germany under the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles.

Canada's Substitute for the Dole

The last report of the operation of the old age pension system in Canada reveals that 63,285 persons throughout the Dominion are being protected in their old age by pension legislation. Since the inauguration in 1927 of the first provincial pension scheme, which has since spread to the five largest provinces, the Canadian municipalities, provinces and the Dominion government paid out more than \$26,000,000 for old age pensions.

The Book End

The World Tomorrow reviews only books which it believes, after critical evaluation, to be helpful and interesting. On rare occasions it includes unfavorable comment on a popular volume which seems sufficiently misleading to render adverse criticism imperative.

Adventurous Americans

Adventurous Americans. Edited by Devere Allen. Farrar and Rinehart. \$3.00.

DEVERE ALLEN has rendered America a great service in collecting these brief and fascinating sketches of twenty-four contemporary adventurous pioneers. One might have wished that others could have been included, but he does give a fair cross-section of American radicalism at its best. It would be stimulating for every college student to challenge his life and spirit with the heroic adventures of these crusaders.

Here he can find an account of that prophetic journalistic leader, Oswald Garrison Villard. If he is interested in the law, he can read of that sterling philosophic jurist, Oliver Wendell Holmes. Again, if he is interested in teaching, the life of Dr. John A. Lapp will dramatize the devotion of a brilliant intellectual mind to the pattern of community justice.

Here is the story of Margaret Sanger and her crusade, through ostracism and prison to the attainment of national recognition of the righteousness of birth control; of Norman Thomas, a leader who has converted politics into a noble educational campaign for civic righteousness, and who is recognized by friend and foe alike as one who is among the most able and fearless statesmen in public life today.

If one is interested in religion, here is that great poetic radical, John Haynes Holmes, who has set the souls of men on fire in New York, and Judah L. Magnes, who has stepped into a place of leadership in Judaism. A. J. Muste's life rivals many a modern tale of fiction, and demonstrates the possibilities of leadership in the labor world.

As these silhouettes flash by us in rapid and fleeting succession, we catch glimpses which force us to think: that fearless philosopher John Dewey, with his motto "Education in action"; Jane Addams, the pioneer in the social world; Roger Baldwin, the Galahad of freedom; Carrie Chapman Catt who did so much to bring about equal rights for women; Dr. DuBois, who is giving his life to establish justice for the Negro; Paul Douglas, who refuses to become the slave of orthodox economic theory; Sherwood Eddy, a modern Saint Paul; William P. Hapgood, the founder of the foremost experiment in the field of industrial democracy in America; Sidney Hillman, a labor leader of constructive ability and genius; Bishop McConnell, who proves that it is possible for a man to reach distinction in the church and still be in the forefront of every progressive movement; Scott Nearing, who throughout his life has tried to follow the truth as he sees it, going through socialism to communism and out again to freedom of mind at any cost; Vida D. Scudder, teacher, socialist, religious thinker; John Nevin Sayre, bulwark of the peace movement and the Fellowship of Reconciliation; Bishop Paul Jones, foremost apostle of peace; B. Charney Vladeck, a socialist who has

attained leadership in journalism; and Grace Abbott, the champion of women and children.

The merit of this volume is that in such a small compass we cover such a wide range of contemporary radical revolt against things as they are. The fault of the volume lies in that it cannot do justice to any of these leaders: It can give but the mere husk of their lives and achievements. The inner heart and soul is often lost because of the necessity for brevity. We need to see and know these leaders. But this volume does introduce us to these people in a more effective way than the average man is otherwise likely to experience. It should stimulate the reader to want to know them better, to become personally acquainted, to read their writings and to try to catch something of the contagion of their fire for God and humanity.

As one looks out on the American scene, the tragedy is that the number of these pioneering souls is so few, that the great mass of the men with ability and power have prostituted their lives, unconsciously, in the service of lesser ends. If every sincere soul would only get this volume and test his life by the lives of these Adventurous Americans, and see the folly of the narrow, cramped, self-centered aims and ideals which dominate our lives, there might then be a chance that instead of 24 sketches, there would have to be 24 thousand.

It is impossible to summarize a volume like this; it demands to be read. There is no more impelling question confronting America than what each of us, individually and collectively, will do with our lives. Let us hope that many men will catch something of the inspiration of these adventurous lives before they make their answer.

JEROME DAVIS

Superlative Frankness

A Word to Gandhi: The Lesson of Ireland. By Brigadier-General F. P. Crozier, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O. Williams & Norgate Ltd., London. 4s. 6d.

THIS is a difficult volume for a citizen of the United States to review. To describe its contents is to run the risk of being regarded as anti-British and hypocritical. The language used by the author is more extreme than would be good taste for an outsider. Mr. Moorfield Storey, a distinguished lawyer and a former President of the American Bar Association, once used similar words in describing atrocities committed by American forces in subjugating the Philippines. Equal frankness would produce countless volumes from citizens of other nations.

General Crozier writes in the light of experiences gained during thirty years of distinguished and valiant service with the British forces. The purpose of this little book is to shed light on the Indian crisis by drawing parallels from the "trouble" in Ireland. The author confesses: "Had I known what I was in for in 1920

when I consented to go to Ireland to take part in suppressing the Irish Sinn Fein revolution, I should, in the words of Mr. Baldwin, never have touched it 'with the end of a barge pole.'"

The reviewer is now resorting to several lengthy quotations because a paraphrase would surely be regarded as distortion: "By the end of 1920 the insurrection in Ireland had degenerated into a murder 'stunt'—murder being met by murder, reprisal by reprisal, fire by the bomb and pistol, pistol by fire. By the end of 1921 there was little or nothing to choose between the two murder gangs—Irish and English. . . . There has been much burning and arson in India of late. The burning of Cork in 1920, by British troops, affords an excellent example of what should be avoided in India. Yet the burning of Cork was in the time of the Lloyd-George-Churchill-Leslie Wilson regime. . . . Young British officers, drunk and arrogant and flushed with blood, first pumped petrol on to the roof of the City Hall and then fired 'Verey' lights on to the inflammable matter! Crown forces cut the hose of the fire engines! Cheer after cheer went up from the khaki clowns as the flames leaped high and the fire-fighting appliances proved ineffective! The same kind of thing may happen in India. . . . in our own Ireland, we organized secret assassinations by the police so late as 1920-21. There is no knowing to what depths governments will not stoop to 'keep going'

"When it is remembered that all the atrocities in Ireland, committed by servants of the Crown, and all the murders, burglaries, thefts, illegal imprisonments, cruelties, beatings, burnings and perjuries carried out in the name of law and order, happened within less than twelve hours' train and steamer journey of the Houses of Parliament, one can but hope that in these difficult days, India and Palestine, far removed from the heart of the Empire and made up of peoples of different races, may be more fortunate! . . .

"When it is considered that, for a period of over sixteen months, representatives of the people of the greatest Empire in the world were lied to, deceived, hoodwinked, fooled and 'let down' by the people whose duty it was to tell the truth and 'play the game,' in order that a rotten régime might be kept alive, one cannot help hoping that in India and at Westminster the people's representatives may this time be more lucky in their methods of approach towards the truth. . . .

"From what I know of many Anglo-Indians—my grandfather and father served the Crown in the land of the rupee for many years—their sloppy mentality, their lack of vision, their misunderstanding of the words 'loyalty' and 'patriotism', their arrogance and uselessness if unattended by henchmen, their lack of general knowledge and education, their constant quest for pensions and preferment, their lack of ability to discern the difference between right and wrong, if crossed by expediency, and their idea that India was originally made by God in order that Englishmen should find work and good pay there at the expense of the Indians, I believe the official class in India would find little difficulty in subscribing to a similar policy to that put in practice in Ireland. . . .

"Having seen a great deal of force in use, having applied that force for over thirty years, having experienced the utter failure of force, I must needs look for other weapons with which to achieve the object—the welfare of mankind."

Even the wayfaring man cannot fail to catch the significance of these words! When a distinguished and valiant soldier of the Crown expresses himself thus frankly, there is justification for apprehensions that the imperial-military mind will again resort to the strong arm methods of Amritsar in seeking to preserve the Empire.

K. P.

Progress in the Art of War

What Would Be the Character of a New War? Inquiry Organized by the Inter-Parliamentary Union. P. S. King & Son, London. 16 s. net.

THIS volume is the result of an inquiry organized by the Inter-Parliamentary Union at Geneva. Experts from France, Germany, Great Britain, Sweden, Japan, Denmark, Switzerland, the United States and Greece here employ their experience and their knowledge to describe, each from a different standpoint, the nature of a future war. Though written for the most part in the sedate style of an official report, it makes the blood run colder than would any flight of rhetoric. Students of military, naval and aerial warfare describe without emotion the best way of breaking an enemy nation's will to war, which is to destroy as many civilians as possible. It is clearly possible to destroy millions in a day and at the same time to lay cities in utter ruin. Chemists and bacteriologists explain the most efficient way of destroying life on a large scale by the dissemination of poisonous gases and disease germs. Bombs can penetrate almost any defensive covering, shatter buildings, set fire to wide areas and disseminate lethal gases on the ground and underground, from which so few could escape alive that expert opinion inclines on the whole to consider the spreading of disease germs unnecessary. But that too can easily be done, if it should seem desirable to make assurance doubly sure.

The articles on methods of defense make it clear that the only defense against this unimaginable holocaust is not to have war at all. There is clearly no other method of security. Since that seems proved beyond doubt, many of the other articles, excellent though they are, may perhaps seem unnecessary. But in case any one who has read the experts on warfare should fail to be convinced that a new war would destroy civilization, experts on finance and economics and demography and psychology explain with equal lucidity and conviction the results of war upon population, character, physique and pocket. Those who escape alive would be abundantly ruined in other ways. Here are hard facts and sure, logical deductions which do more than justify the imaginative picture of a post-new-war world in Cicely Hamilton's *Theodore Savage*. For the shattered survivors "back to barbarism" would be the only path. Perhaps in centuries they would build a civilization that would insure security by taking Christ's gospel seriously.

But why have war? Who wants it? Here again an expert supplies the answer and displays the influence of the private firms who foster war to promote the sale of the arms and munitions which they manufacture. The international ramifications of war industry are clearly unravelled for us. We can almost hear directors congratulating shareholders on "a good year," and no one who reads this article can be surprised if he is blown to pieces by a shell manufactured in his own country. We learn how the belligerents in 1917 traded with each other through Switzerland in essentials of munition lest the war should come to an untimely end. Nor can any hope be placed in international law to restrict the extreme destructiveness of war when once it has begun. Clearly there are stout obstacles in the path of peace.

The final article, which deals with the future of International Law on the subject of warfare, ends with this sentiment: "The more world opinion realises what another war would be like, the more it will be inclined to bring pressure to bear on governments that they shall spare no effort to bar its way. The real policy

of peace should tend to prevent war, not to humanise it."

And that, either explicitly stated or clearly implied, is the moral of every one of these admirably informative reports.

W. HAMILTON FYFE

Signposts of Religion

The Moral Crisis in Christianity. By Justin Wroe Nixon. Harpers. \$2.00.

Ways of Believing. By Miles H. Krumbine. Harpers. \$2.00.

The Christ of the Mount. By E. Stanley Jones. Abingdon. \$1.50.

The New Dimensions of Religion. By Allyn K. Foster. Macmillan. \$2.00.

THE lectures of Dr. Justin Wroe Nixon which inaugurated the Walter Rauschenbusch Memorial Lectureship are contained in his splendid book, *The Moral Crisis in Christianity*. The book is simply expressed and constructive in spirit. Very properly, the author begins with an analysis of the Social Gospel as proclaimed by Professor Rauschenbusch and of what has happened to that Gospel since the War. This leads to the question of whether the world can be converted to moral living. But what is moral living? How can the Christian religion become effective in organizing men to live together in harmony with Christian ideals? To be specific, what can the Christian church do in promoting progress both through social strategy and individual integration? Along such lines the author's thought moves with fine clarity and a great deal of helpfulness.

In *Ways of Believing*, the brilliant minister of Plymouth Church, Cleveland, gives us a very detailed analysis of the present difficulties of faith and their causes. With great versatility he traces the development of thought along various lines. The chapter headings give an idea of the scope of the volume: "The Need to Believe," "Belief and the Temper of the Times," "The Scourge of Skepticism," "The Religion of a Healthy Mind," and "Some Sources of Belief." There is an amazing amount of appropriate quotation and illustration. One does wish that more emphasis were laid upon constructive faith, a phase of the subject which is well but briefly treated.

George Adam Smith did great things for us in his expositions of the Prophets and the Gospel of John. Stanley Jones does very much the same in his clear and challenging exposition of the Sermon on the Mount. Indeed it is more than exposition. It is a sane and balanced application of Christ's teachings to present-day situations. *The Christ of the Mount* was worked out in study conferences in India. But one wonders whether its application to our own Western world is not even stronger than its application to India. The author maintains that the Sermon on the Mount is a transcript of the mind and spirit of Jesus and that it is "a working philosophy of life—the only one that will work." It is a great book. It contains strong stuff.

The New Dimensions of Religion is a "modest attempt to state the essential realities and the essential experiences of religion in the prevailing language of science." Most evidently it is a vital religious interest that inspires this attempt. Probably it is impossible to find a scientific way of looking at the totality of man's spiritual experiences. Even the part that can be done must necessarily at times be vague. But this is a book decidedly worth reading by anyone who believes that in each generation religion, to be intelligible, must be expressed in terms of the dominant forms of thought of that generation.

GUTHRIE SPEERS

Handbook of a Race

The Negro Year Book, 1931-32. By Prof. Monroe N. Work. Negro Year Book Company, Tuskegee Institute, Ala. 544 pages. \$2.00.

THE *Negro Year Book* is an encyclopedic work so voluminous and inclusive as completely to elude hazy generalization. It must be seen to be appreciated.

Nor will a casual "once over" suffice; one must study the *Year Book* carefully and at length to realize its remarkable scope and value. It is an indispensable guide for those who are seriously interested in the Negro's background, his history, his achievements, his present status in America and throughout the world. This new edition is far and away the most complete and best arranged of the series.

Under the heading "The Negro in the United States," there are 25 chapters dealing with such interesting topics as population, industry, agriculture, business, politics, religion, crime, mortality, history and progress, discrimination, segregation, race consciousness, racial integrity and interracial cooperation. (Professor Work, true to his fine spirit and philosophy of racial adjustment, put the last-named chapter first.) Add to this section of the book parts five, six and seven, treating of Negro achievement in art, literature and other fields, and one has by far the most complete, interesting and valuable compilation of facts about American Negroes ever undertaken.

Naturally one would not expect in the same volume an equally complete survey of conditions in other lands, but there are nearly a hundred double-column pages packed with information on the conditions of Negroes abroad, including a particularly full treatment of the situation in South Africa.

To sum up, one may say that Professor Work has produced a remarkable and distinctly creditable volume, and one absolutely essential to every person who needs to have at hand the important facts in the vast field which it covers.

R. B. ELEAZER

Men of Earth

Men of Earth. By Russell Lord. Longmans, Green & Co. \$3.00.

A FEW years ago the president of a Wall Street corporation, which buys a major share of one of the Dakota crops, said to a State College President that he and his peers would soon have to "put business into agriculture." Farmers need money, implements, and business methods; which most of them will never have. Capital will have to foreclose farm mortgages, consolidate farms, go in for corporation farming. What of the farmers? They will have to compete or get out; become hired men at fifty a month, give up their radios, automobiles and washing machines. It is evident that the family unit of farming is a failure and can no longer be supported except on sentimental grounds. "Your job in the Ag Colleges will be to train the farm managers we need."

There is, to be sure, an element of truth in this. Some farmers are ignorant, unbusinesslike, inhospitable to new ideas and methods. Many of them have already failed and gone to the cities. More are bound to follow. There is an alarming increase in tenancy. Tenant farmers who own nothing and take root nowhere are not apt to increase the quality of our citizenry any more than the quality of the soil they till. But any one, in or out of Wall Street, makes a mistake if he thinks that our rugged independent farmers who know their business and who have spent a

lifetime working and paying for what they have, are suddenly going to submit, lying down, to any ruthless acceleration by outsiders of agricultural industrialization.

Denmark has often been held up as an agricultural criterion. But apart from the obvious merit of coöperative effort, three points of comparison are particularly relevant: (1) Danish dairy cattle are not superior to our purebred stock. But while we are still feeding too many scrub cows, the average Danish cow is highly graded on the assumption that a good cow eats no more than a poor one. (2) Danish soil is not better than American soil; the very opposite is true. But every bit of it is more intensively cultivated and fertilized. (3) And when by coöperative methods the Danish farmer makes money, he prefers to improve the soil, stock, and equipment he already owns rather than increase his liabilities by buying more land.

Though many still swear by the old methods there is a noticeable change in America toward industrialization of agriculture and toward its operation as a practical profession, and there is scarcely any part of this country that does not show some notable contribution to this new order. *Men of Earth* is a fascinating modern saga of such achievement. It will thrill every one interested in rural life, and stimulate those who already live on farms to new efforts. Forty country people pass in review—men and women all “at various stages on a march from pastoral to machine-age standards,” most of them managing to leave the impression that in a peculiarly muddle-headed world, they are doing something that really matters. They are sketched on the background of the old-world farmer, Pierre Lefargue, whose ancestors took title to their French soil nearly a thousand years before Washington was born, and whose family has continuously farmed that land down to the present day.

The author has a fine sense of what is really significant. Not the least absorbing part of the book, for any one interested in the socio-economic aspects of rural life, is the last section—especially the chapter which deals with a survey conducted by *The Country Home*. Whatever else is shown, it is quite clear that there are still enough able and responsible citizens left on our farms who are willing, if necessary, to take “the greater part of their pay in intangibles which, when all is said, cut closer to the enduring satisfactions, to the eternal realities, than do the materials of urban pride.”

ERIC H. THOMSEN

Portrait of Jumbo

Concentration of Control in American Industry. By Harry W. Laidler. Thomas Y. Crowell. \$3.75.

I KNOW a man whose pet nightmare is this: he dreams of chasing a trolley car and just missing it at every stop. The attempts of government to control the concentration of power in industry and finance in the United States read like the translation of that nightmare into reality. Every time the government has moved, the industrialists and financiers have been just one jump ahead; and the few times that it seemed on the verge of catching up, the Supreme Court played the role of official bad boy and tripped the legislators up in their stride. The story of attempted government control of increasingly larger agglomerations of industrial units is the twofold story of tardy legislation and adverse court interpretation. All of this we have known for a long time.

But what we have hitherto only suspected and feared, and what is now made indisputably clear, is that “jumboizing” of industry

has gone on at a pace far beyond our knowledge. Harry Laidler has given us the clear, cold facts, carefully and scientifically garnered, well documented, concisely stated, and pointedly assembled. His book reads like a novel; but there is not a word of fiction in it. The cry used to be that Big Business was ruining us all. Dr. Laidler here assembles an exact picture of this giant and lets the reader draw his own conclusions. Sometimes he irritates by refusing a tempting opportunity to let the prophetic sword flame forth; he is too calm in his recounting of these appalling facts. Perhaps that is why one can trust him.

I am not prepared to urge the decentralization of industry. Even if it were advisable, why waste one's breath crying down the wind? But this much should be obvious to any one who has two muscles between his ears: if competition, the alleged guardian of the public interest in a formerly competitive market, be definitely curtailed by mergers and “understandings,” and if the efforts of government to act as guardian in lieu of defunct competition are checked or invalidated, then the consumer is left without protection in the hands of increasingly powerful and adroit profiteers. If the consumer is not to be mulcted, there must be either a genuinely competitive market or an effective public agency to prevent exploitation.

Dr. Laidler enters very briefly into the possibilities of the socialization of industry, suggesting that the bigger these industrial units become, the more nearly ripe they are for socialization. I could wish that his chapter on the Law and Industrial Concentration were fuller, and that the final chapter were more detailed—but it is enough that he has done one job well. His portrait of American Business is drawn with the detail of a Dürer and the vividness of a Cezzane. It makes me think of a sort of before-the-event group picture, to be followed by a full-sized canvas like Reuben's “Fall of the Damned.”

The book is being used widely in college classrooms and reference libraries, and if the labor movement is awake to its opportunity, there will be plenty of study of this volume in labor circles. Certainly, no preacher who expects to be realistic in his approach to the modern industrial tangle with its sub-Christian standards of value and its anti-Christian ways of functioning can afford to pass by this penetrating and devastating analysis of the trend of American industrialism.

BUELL G. GALLAGHER

Economic Forces in Modern Society

Economic Behavior. By Atkins, McConnell, et al. Houghton Mifflin Co. 2 vols. \$8.50.

THE members of the economics department of New York University have collaborated in this formidable symposium which might be described as an analysis of modern society from the perspective of sociological economists. The authors themselves call their approach “institutional”—i. e., they are intent upon discovering the inter-relation between customs, conventions, institutions, and modes of behavior and economic activity. Thus they deal with such a variety of topics as the rôle of money in modern society, profit-seeking enterprise, proprietorship and partnership, tendencies in ownership, the ethical standards created by trade and business men's associations, business cycles, organized labor, arbitration, labor management, export of capital and its effect upon international relations, public utilities and dozens of other phases of our economic society.

Unlike most efforts which go under the name of a symposium, *Economic Behavior* is an integral whole—the result of real collabora-

ration. Sometimes it gives the impression of being an encyclopedia rather than a book, and the individual chapter does no more than whet the reader's appetite for a more exhaustive treatment of the subject under consideration. But, taken as a whole, it affords a good picture of our American economic scene, of the way human beings act in the vast inter-relationships of economic life, and of the effect of changing economic processes upon social standards and political ideals. It is an antidote to the kind of economic science which abstracts the economic man from the complexities of habit and motive in which he really moves.

R. N.

WE RECOMMEND

The International Court. By Edward Lindsey. Thomas Y. Crowell Company. \$3.75. A useful history of the first nine years' record of the World Court.

Reparations and War Debts in 1932. By Beatrice Pitney Lamb. New York League of Women Voters, 155 E. 44th St., New York City. 15 cents. An especially valuable pamphlet filled with relevant data; also arguments pro and con.

International Migrations. Edited by Walter F. Wilcox. National Bureau of Economic Research. \$7.00. This second volume—the first being devoted to statistical data—consists of interpretations by authorities from various countries.

The China Christian Year Book: 1931. Edited by Frank Rawlinson. Christian Literature Society, Shanghai. A mine of factual data about Chinese national affairs, religious life, missionaries, education, etc.

European Alliances and Alignments. By William L. Langer. Knopf. \$5.00. When the flood of "revelations" came after the War from government archives, statesmen, and memoir writers, it was obvious at once that the old histories of international relations since 1871 had to be scrapped. This volume does the reconstruction work for the period 1871-1890. The bibliography shows what a huge task this was. A second volume ought to bring the story to 1914.

Religion in Higher Education. Edited by Milton Towner. University of Chicago Press. \$3.00. The chapters in this book represent addresses given at a recent conference of religious leaders in the college world. It will be helpful to all who are responsible for the religious life on college campuses.

A Realist Looks at Democracy. By Alderton Pink. Stokes. \$2.50. In his vigorous analysis and criticism of democracy, the author is particularly impressed by the incapacity of the democratic multitudes, the lack of real ability among their chosen representatives, and the possibility of exploiting their passions and credulities by a venal press. He flirts with the idea of a new aristocracy to supplant the present democratic government, but he is not very helpful in showing us a way in which such an aristocracy can be prevented from committing the sin of which all aristocracies of history have been guilty—the exploitation of the masses for private gain. Democracy is indeed a shaky reed, but this book offers no very convincing alternative.

How Big Is Your World? By John L. Lobingier. Pilgrim Press. Leader's Book, 85 cents; Pupil's Book, 60 cents. An excellent study course in international relations for High School students.

Incredible Carnegie. The Life of Andrew Carnegie, 1835-1919. By John K. Winkler. Vanguard. 307 pages. \$3.50. The metamorphosis of "the greediest little gentleman ever created" into "Saint Andrew." Vivid light is thrown on the steel industry and its ruthless captains.

"Yes, But"—*The Bankruptcy of Apologetics.* By Willard L. Sperry. Harper and Brothers. \$2.00. A vigorous and interesting attack upon the negative attitude of liberal religion and an analysis of its religious impotence. Its failure to deal adequately with the ethical problems of our industrial civilization is not appreciated. The author may no longer belong to liberalism from the theological perspective, but from the socio-ethical perspective he is still in the category from which he tries to extricate himself.

England and the International Policy of the European Powers, 1871-1914. By Alfred Francis Pribram. Oxford Press. 156 pages. \$4.50. Professor Pribram has already done excellent service in straightening out the tangled skeins of pre-war diplomacy. In this series of lectures he presents the situation to an Oxford audience in the light of all the post-war revelations. He avoids the discussion of war guilt as too complicated for a single lecture.

Frankenstein Incorporated. By I. Maurice Wormser. McGraw Hill. \$2.50. At the present time 200 corporations in America earn 40 per cent of the nation's net income. The author of this book, which is an illuminating history of trusts and corporations, does not want less but more regulation, though he recognizes the impossibility of going back to the old competition. Yet he expects these same corporations to reform some of their piratical practices voluntarily. One wonders whether the Frankenstein which Mr. Wormser depicts has not grown too great to be controlled by the modern state and whether more heroic policies must not be applied than those he suggests.

European Dictatorship. By Count Carlo Sforza. Brentano. \$3.00. Count Sforza, long Italian foreign minister and exponent of the liberal tradition of Cavour, surveys the various dictatorial ventures in European states. He hates dictatorships whether from the right or the left with equal passion. His analysis of the Italian dictatorship is particularly valuable because he was personally involved in the political events which led to its rise. He is convinced that most of its claims are spurious and that the Papacy made a fatal mistake in linking its fortunes with a hated power which is bound to invite revolution and ultimately perish by it. The Spanish dictatorship is ascribed to the desire of King Alfonso to cover up his personal responsibility for the Morocco disaster, and the author offers some interesting justification for the indictments which the new Spanish Cortes has recently returned against the former king. Sforza remains a liberal and a democrat amidst the universal evidences of the decay of the democratic tradition in Europe. He may be right in his faith, but his defense of democracy is not so convincing as it might be. It is a crime to charge three dollars for a book of this size, whatever its excellencies.

The Making of Citizens. By Charles Edward Merriam. The University of Chicago Press. \$3.00. A comparative study of methods of civic training in France, Germany, England, Italy, Soviet Russia, Austria, Hungary and the United States.

Russia and the Soviet Union in the Far East. By Victor A. Yakhontoff. Coward-McCann, Inc. \$5.00. A comprehensive history of Russia's Oriental policy under Czars and Bolsheviks. Excellent summary of factual data necessary for an understanding of the present crisis in Manchuria.

Far Eastern International Relations. By Hosea Ballou Morse and Harley Farnsworth MacNair. Houghton Mifflin Company. \$6.00. An 800 page history of intrigue and conflict among the Great Powers for supremacy in the Orient. Reveals many precedents for Japanese aggression.

CORRESPONDENCE

A Far Eastern Policy

PRESIDENT HOOVER was addressed today in a letter from the Emergency Peace Committee signed by executives of several organizations, including the American Friends Service Committee, the World Peace Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and the League for Independent Political Action as follows:

Dear Mr. President:

The undersigned believe that millions of American citizens and the general membership of the organizations with which we are connected look with concern upon the despatch of United States military forces to Shanghai and of a great battle fleet to Hawaii, which lies on the way to the Far East's danger zone. We cannot forget that sentiment for a useless war with Spain was precipitated by the destruction of the *Maine*—perhaps accidental—in Spanish territorial waters.

Militarism and warfare, like fire and explosion, tend to spread, but they need ingredients to feed on. The World War demonstrated that they are not checked by the application of more military force. They can only be satisfactorily overcome by persuasion, or pressure which is wholly non-military in character. The Kellogg Pact is founded on this truth.

We beg to assure you therefore that we would support and urge others to support a program of action by our Government along the following lines:

1. That in accordance with the spirit of the Kellogg Pact, the United States under no circumstances should allow itself to be drawn into a war with Japan or join in any measures of military coercion; that instead it should rely wholly on pacific methods of action.
2. That American citizens be advised to withdraw from the areas of threatened conflict.
3. That the United States withdraw its war vessels and armed forces from the same areas.
4. That the United States declare an embargo on the export of arms and war supplies to Japan and China.
5. That the State Department declare that it is contrary to public policy for loans to be made to Japan and China which might be used to assist operations.
6. That immediate measures be instituted for humanitarian relief for civilians in areas of military activities.

7. That the United States call the attention of Japan to the fact that all nations whose citizens have been injured or whose property has been destroyed by the acts of Japan will expect just indemnity.
8. That the United States hold resolutely to the position in Secretary Stimson's note of January 7, that it will refuse to recognize any treaty which violates "the sovereignty, the independence, or the territorial and administrative integrity of the Republic of China" or "the International policy relative to China commonly known as the Open Door Policy" and that the United States will refuse to "recognize any situation, treaty, or agreement which may be brought about by means contrary to the covenants and obligations of the Pact of Paris."
9. That the United States should coöperate with the League of Nations and other governments to the fullest extent possible for the achievement of the foregoing program.

New York City

JOHN NEVIN SAYRE

Concerning Class Consciousness

I READ with a great deal of interest and pleasure the article on "Christianity and Class Consciousness" by Professor John Bennett in the February *WORLD TOMORROW*. In the interest of stimulating this discussion and because I am convinced it is a very important point, I should like to raise the question whether Professor Bennett, in a few sentences in the latter part of his article, does not unnecessarily qualify his major thesis. He is interested, of course, in using class consciousness in his technical Marxian sense as a *means* of achieving the goal of a classless society. To emphasize the necessity of class consciousness remaining ethical he says a number of times in different ways that "it must be relative and provisional, for there is a unity which underlies class differences which must never be lost." If his qualifications did not go beyond such a statement, they would not tend to obscure the real issue, as I think they do.

However, elsewhere, Professor Bennett writes, "In time the class struggle may cease as such and become a struggle between those who seek justice and the stubborn who care more for their privileges." Isn't this a continuation of the class struggle? Also, he writes, "Those outposts must be churches in which both classes live together on a basis of equality, without the hypocrisy which covers up the problem and with a common devotion to the same cause of justice." However, I cannot understand how these churches representing "both classes" can be said to have "a common devotion to the same cause of justice".

There is a class struggle or there is not a class struggle. If this class-struggle doctrine is fundamentally sound, as I believe it is, then this is one of the most important aspects of our present pattern of social relationships. Granting this assumption, the problem facing us is whether we choose to be absolutists like the orthodox communists and by the positive use of force and aggravation precipitate a bloody struggle to achieve the classless socialist society, or whether we choose to seek, if possible, to achieve this transition from capitalism to socialism by more gradual means and with a minimum of violence. In either case, granting the assumption, it is exceedingly important that day in and day out we give ourselves to the creation of class consciousness, defined, as Professor Bennett defines it in the first part of his article, as "the loyalty of the workers themselves as a class, including both the fortunate skilled workers and the underprivileged workers, to the cause of their own emancipation."

I contend that this is not a subordinate loyalty of an anti-

religious sort, but the highest human loyalty, a loyalty to the new civilization that is a-borning. This civilization will be more conducive to the growth of values which Jesus found important than the present civilization, in my judgment. It is because I am increasingly certain that we will be able to move into socialism by means most consonant with those used by Jesus *only if* a large enough minority becomes class conscious in an ethical sense soon enough, that I contend that although it will be a hopeful sign when more of the churches are made up of both classes—socialists and capitalists—yet it is undesirable and impossible to expect these two classes to have “a common devotion to the same cause of justice.”

New York City.

FRANCIS A. HENSON

Mr. Bennett Comments

MR. HENSON seems to say that no appreciable number of Christians can have convictions and loyalties which are independent of their class interests. I go all the way with him in his insistence upon the importance of class-conscious loyalty on the part of the workers but I would discourage class consciousness among the privileged. If the workers become class conscious and groups from the privileged class cease to work for their own class interests, the class struggle would be to that extent qualified. But is that a possibility?

The answer depends upon how much you can trust the persuasiveness of ideals. That they cannot overcome the corrupting effects of economic interests in the case of the majority is clear enough. How large a minority; how able, devoted, and articulate a minority may be captured by those ideals is still an open question—a question which cannot be answered now by any Marxian formula. It seems probable to me that in addition to the full-time intellectuals and religious idealists who constitute most of the existing minority, the present depression will produce a large number of middle-class people who can be convinced that our economic system has failed even according to its own standards and who have in them too much of the democratic spirit to jump towards an industrial fascism. Where will they jump? At least they will be fertile soil for Mr. Henson's socialism if he doesn't convince them in advance that it would not be consistent with a true philosophy of history for them to jump in his direction.

Auburn, N. Y.

JOHN C. BENNETT

A Dissenting Opinion

PERMIT me, for the sake of historical accuracy, to make a brief correction of an error which appeared, no doubt inadvertently, in Dr. Haydon's review of the *Kitáb-i-Íqán* (Book of Certitude) published in your January issue.

I refer to Dr. Haydon's statement that there was a “violent usurpation of authority by Baha'u'llah” following the martyrdom of the Bab in 1850. Fuller acquaintance with the historical development of the Baha'i Faith makes it clear that the Bab stood in the position of herald, or forerunner, to Baha'u'llah, in much the same way that John the Baptist was herald and messenger preparing the way for Jesus. The claim advanced by Subhi-Ezel that he was the Bab's “successor” has no proof either in document or in spiritual reality. The impression that Baha'u'llah “usurped” a position rightly belonging to Subhi-Ezel was given currency by the late Edward G. Browne of Cambridge University, and is still from time to time renewed by certain partisan writers.

During the present month the American Bahá'is will publish

an English translation of *The Dawn-Breakers: Nabil's Narrative of the Early Days of the Bahá'i Faith*, an authentic history written by an eye-witness and participant in the events relating to the rise of the Bab's movement, and containing photographic reproductions of original letters in the Bab's handwriting. Aside from this conclusive proof, created by the Bab himself, we have the significant fact that during the confusion caused by Subhi-Ezel's pretensions, Baha'u'llah voluntarily left the Babi community, living in exile in Bagdad, and only returned when the community itself sent a messenger imploring Baha'u'llah to restore his guidance and inspiration. In other words, Subhi-Ezel was left free during two years to assert his spiritual leadership, and completely failed. The inner power obviously belonged to Baha'u'llah.

It is a pity that Dr. Haydon did not feel called upon to summarize the *Íqán*—a work which proves the continuity of religion and the oneness of the prophets Moses, Jesus, and Muhammad, and which contains the elements of a world religion.

New York City

HORACE HOLLEY

Down in the Texas Panhandle

THE trouble with independent, liberal and progressive thinkers is that their very independence of thought and action keeps them divided. There are enough progressive people in this country to get big things accomplished if only these individuals could get together. It is interesting to find fellowships of like-minded souls forming here and there.

This problem became acute in the community from which I write. The number of liberal and progressive thinkers has been constantly increasing but there are few forms of association that bring them together in an effective way. A liberal minister of the gospel, a welfare worker, and a college professor got together to work on the problem. There was organized a group at first under the tentative name of Fellowship for the Larger Freedom and then under the formally adopted name, Fellowship for Creative Goodwill. The aim was to avoid formal organization as far as possible and yet to have a coherent group. We wished to avoid the disintegration that would result from including in our number hobbyists, excessive talkers, and persons not in genuine sympathy with our aims. It would have been impossible for us to get together on any specific religious, political, or social basis. Under the name of Fellowship for Creative Goodwill we have worked in perfect harmony for certain worthy ends. Not one word has ever appeared in the press indicating that such an organization is in existence. There is nothing secret about our meetings, but they are private, usually in the homes of members. We have taken up such matters as disarmament and the political situation in the United States. In this community there have never been enough party Socialists to have their vote recorded in the papers. It is doubtful whether there have ever been half a dozen Socialists in the town. A straw vote was taken by our local papers for the presidency of the United States, and to the surprise of everyone Norman Thomas polled 174 votes. It would perhaps be not too much to say that the chief influence in bringing this about was our little group of idealists, though we have no political test or candidate. There is no telling how great a power might be exerted if in every community there were a nucleus of liberal, forward-looking men and women who would get together from time to time for the discussion of social problems and for constructive action. Then, if possible, such local groups ought to be federated into a larger organization.

Lubbock, Texas

JOHN C. GRANBERRY

Who's Who in This Issue

Grover Clark, for eight years editor of the *Peking Leader* and author of *Economic Rivalries in China*, is a consultant on Far Eastern affairs.

Bartholomew De Ligt, formerly a Dutch pastor, was one of the founders of the International Anti-militarist Bureau and has published several books on social questions. He is at present editor of the Dutch monthly, *Bevryding*.

Paul H. Douglas, professor of industrial relations at the University of Chicago, has conducted several important surveys on unemployment. His most recent book is *The Problem of Unemployment*.

Walter H. Judd has been serving under the American Board of Foreign Missions in the province of Fukien, China, since 1925.

Jennie Lee is an outstanding member of the British Labour Party and at the age of 24 represented the Scottish constituency of North Lanark under the late Labour government.

Jerome Davis is associate professor of practical philanthropy at Yale University Divinity School.

W. Hamilton Fyfe, former editor of the London *Daily Herald*, is principal of Queens University at Kingston, Ontario.

Guthrie Speers is the minister of Brown Memorial Church in Baltimore.

Eric H. Thomsen is minister of the Congregational Church in Keene Valley, New York.

Buell G. Gallagher is chairman of the newly organized Fellowship of Socialist Christians.

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A Request

If any of our readers have extra copies of our December, 1931, or January, 1932, issues and wish to dispose of them, we would be grateful if they would return them to our office.

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New York City.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

L.I.D. Recreation Huts

THE L.I.D. is planning to open from ten to twenty "L.I.D. Recreation Huts" for use by the unemployed during the day and until 10 o'clock in the evening. There will be papers, magazines and books to read. There will be one or two people in charge all the time and a committee of volunteers to carry on a program of activities which will be very simple—a few periods during the day when there will be singing or music, a few informal discussions led by some one coming in, as much opportunity for handwork as we can offer.

The real purpose of these centers is to counteract the degrading and demoralizing effects of the American dole system. They are centers for the cultivation and maintenance of self-respect because in almost every other relation which the unemployed are offered this winter they are in the position of mendicants. We must recognize them in these places as individuals who may want to live as others do while they are making use of their "enforced leisure." They will find warmth and the friendliness which equals extend to each other, intellectual interest even if it is of an elementary character. During the War every one was anxious to help the soldiers, who were victims of that social disaster, in their leisure moments. Now we have victims of a greater social disaster who have not even the satisfaction of sacrifice made in a social cause. We must do what we can to keep up morale and to develop such an understanding in these people that they will themselves bring about a just social order. Here are a few notes on the matter:

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Findings

"Next to the originator of a good sentence is the first quoter of it."—Emerson.

Prize Definitions

A "Practical Pacifist" is one who for political or financial reasons is not true to his beliefs, which are generally inherited. The "Practical Pacifist" is a comparatively new species. . . . A pale yellow patriot who, without ever having risked his life for his country in war, seeks to justify that war record by professing conscientious scruples against war. . . . One who believes in peace at any price, but is too peaceful to let people know about the price.—*Army and Navy Journal*, January 23, 1932, p. 483.

Will It Happen Again?

Illustrations of the limits to which this fluctuating value of money may go are the United States "greenbacks" during and after the Civil War, the Bolshevik rubles after the World War, and the German marks in 1923 and 1924. In February, 1924, a bill of 100,000,000,000 German marks was worth a little over two cents in American money.—*Walter A. Terpenning in The Forum*, January 1932.

One Worse Than Both!

I thought that Berlin was the saddest place in Europe, until I got to Vienna. . . . Today, fear stalks the streets of Vienna. It is hard to say whether the crisis is worse here or in Budapest, but one place or the other must certainly be awarded the unhappy honor of being at the very heart of Europe's storm.—*Bruce Bliven in The New Republic*, January 20, 1932.

Through the Eyes of An Economist

It is part of the irony of fate that the bread lines and soup lines have appeared in this very year 1931, when the wonder-working tariff is still in operation at full blast. The experience may dampen somewhat the talk about the tariff as the one specific for all industrial ills. But that it is such a specific has become almost an article of faith for millions of good Republicans. It has been dinned in their ears that the prosperity of this country is dependent on the protective system, and indeed is assured only if the system is maintained intact. I do not know whether the cry has lost its power, or is in the way of losing it. From the economist's point of view it is all nonsense. But so is most of the common man's talk about economic matters.—*Professor F. W. Taussig of Harvard*, in *The Atlantic Monthly*, November 1931.

Now Read On!

Only the purblind egotist can suggest that the world turned to protection in retaliation against the American tariff. What chiefly distinguishes the Smoot-Hawley act from foreign tariffs adopted since the depression began is its moderation. . . . One conclusion from a study of America's share of international commerce is inevitable, and that is that nothing calamitous has happened.—*Senator Reed Smoot (himself!)* in *Current History*, November 1931.

Light and Power

Astounding profits from the municipally owned and operated light and power plant of Pasadena, California, have made it possible for the city to construct, within a three-year period, a million dollar civic auditorium, a \$200,000 police station, a \$125,000 golf links, and a branch library. Thus, the light department has been correctly termed "Pasadena's civic loan bank." This unique light plant, established twenty-five years ago on such a slender shoestring that it was necessary to use pie tins for street-light reflectors, has now earned in net profits as much as \$708,025 in a single year, while maintaining the lowest rates in California and one of the three or four lowest rates in the entire United States.—*William Sidney in The Nation*, January 20, 1932.

The Only Antidote

There is but one effective and intelligent way in which to counteract Communist efforts at proselyting among American Negroes, and that method is drastic revision of the almost chronic American indifference to the Negro's plight. Give him jobs, decent living conditions, and homes. Assure him of justice in the courts and protection of life and property in Mississippi as well as New York. Put an end to flagrant and unchecked disregard of the Negro's constitutional right to vote. Let labor unions—conservative and liberal as well as radical—abolish written implied barriers against the Negro, doing so in sheer enlightened selfishness, if for no other reason, since it is self-evident that labor will never be free as long as black labor is enslaved and exploited. Let employers of labor even in this time of acute depression see to it that Negro working-men are treated no worse than white. In brief, the only antidote to the spread among American Negroes of revolutionary doctrines is even-handed justice.—*Walter White*, in *Harper's Magazine*, December, 1931.

Toward Reconciliation

We deplore the long record of wrongs from which the Jewish peoples have suffered in the past often from the hands of those who have professed the Christian faith and who have yet been guilty of acts utterly alien to Christian teaching and spirit. We declare our disavowal of anti-Semitism in every form and our purpose to remove by every available means its causes and manifestations in order that we may share with our fellow citizens of Jewish heritage every political, educational, commercial, social and religious opportunity. We urge upon Christians everywhere the cultivation of understanding, appreciation, and good will toward the Jewish people to whom we owe so much. We call upon all Christians as they commemorate the birth of Jesus at Christmas this year, to join us, through personal influence, the teaching of the young at home and school and in other ways, in earnestly seeking the removal of anti-Jewish prejudices and their consequences and the advent of a new era of friendly fellowship and cooperation worthy of the faith we profess.—*A Christmas message signed by thirty outstanding Christian leaders.*

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